

# MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

PAST & PRESENT

No. 19  
June/July 1989

**US Marines,  
Hue, Tet '68**

**Indian Mutiny  
Field Dress**

**Custer's  
7th Cavalry**

**Covenanters:  
Scots Infantry, 1640s**

**Matania's  
Illustrations**

**'Black Bob'  
Craufurd**

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# MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

## PAST & PRESENT

No. 19

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*Our cover illustration*  
is a reconstruction of  
a US Marine Corps M60  
machine gunner, Vietnam,  
1968 — see p. 38. (Photo:  
Kevin Lyles)

10

### *Indian Mutiny Campaign Dress (1)*

MICHAEL BARTHORP Paintings by DOUGLAS ANDERSON

19

### *The Dress Uniform of the 7th US Cavalry, 1872-81*

JOHN P. LANGELLIER

27

### *Covenanters: Scots Infantry in the 1640s*

STUART REID

33

### *The Illustrations of Fortunino Matania*

W.Y. CARMAN

38

### *'Streetfighters':*

### *The US Marines at Hue, Tet 1968 (1)*

KEVIN LYLES

54

### *Gallery: Robert Craufurd*

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE Paintings by BRYAN FOSTEN

**Editorial .....** 6   **Classifieds .....** 8

**On The Screen .....** 6   **Reviews .....** 46

**The Auction Scene .....** 7

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# EDITORIAL

This issue of 'MI' gives us the opportunity to welcome our first contribution by the Scottish artist **Douglas Anderson** – author and illustrator of several books, contributor of innumerable features to magazines, newspapers, television programmes and other outlets, and for years now a specialist almost exclusively in military and historic costume. Born in Glasgow – where he still lives and works – in 1927, Douglas was commissioned in the Highland Light Infantry in 1945, and served with the 1st Battalion in Egypt and Palestine, latterly as a captain and the unit's adjutant. A graduate of Glasgow School of Art, he freelanced for many years as a fashion artist and illustrator; always active in research and historical preservation work, he was a founder member and is now Honorary Vice President of the Scottish Military Collectors' Society, and a member of the Royal Highland Fusiliers Museum Committee.

We also welcome in this issue another Scot, **Stuart Reid**; a long-experienced re-enactor with the English Civil War Society, Stuart is mainly interested in the social and military history of the Scottish soldier of the 16th and 17th centuries, and is the author of some well-received monographs. He declares himself dedicated to beating at their own game the American enthusiasts who, in their own periods of interest, have set such high standards for historical reconstruction. Born in Aberdeen in 1954, Stuart served in 1980–86 with 6th(V) Bn., Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, attaining the rank of sergeant and the regular army sniper qualification.

## Antietam article

Several readers have commented on the apparently reversed photograph of Thomas Taylor on p.14 of 'MI' No.17. The photograph is an ambrotype, an image made directly on a sheet of glass inside the camera, with no negative stage; the image is therefore 'mirrored'. We also take this



Douglas Anderson



Stuart Reid

opportunity to correct our mistaken caption reference (p.11) to the store sign – an uncropped print shows the name to be 'Rosenstock'.

## German belt buckles

We are asked by David Lazarus of 66 Cameo Drive, Willimantic, CT, 06226, USA to note that he and author Thomas Reid are collaborating on a new periodical devoted to German buckles 1847–1945, 'The Virschow Journal'; they would be glad to receive information, with photographs or clear photostats, on identified reproductions.

## Napoleonic march to the East

The Napoleonic Association inform us that their new title, European Napoleonic Association, will be reflected by a trip this summer behind the Iron Curtain. They will meet up with Russian and Czech re-enactors; and will visit Austerlitz, Aspen, and – later in the year – Leipzig and Borodino. Anyone interested in this most ambitious enterprise should contact William Bertram at 25 Stowe Court, Stantonbury, Milton Keynes MK14 6AQ, UK.

## Cornwall Militaire 1989

The Cornwall Military Modelling Society will be holding their annual exhibition on Saturday 17 June at Lostwithiel Community Centre; doors open 11 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of John Manners, Marquess of Granby (1721–70), recently purchased by the National Army Museum, Chelsea for £175,000 with the aid of grants from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the National Art Collections Fund. It is popularly supposed that Granby's heroic leadership of the British cavalry charge at Warburg, 31 July 1760, during which he lost his hat, gave rise to the expression 'to go bald-headed' at something. A most generous commander to his soldiers, he is commemorated to this day in the name of many British pubs. The uniform is that of Master-General of the Ordnance, in artillery colours; Granby held that appointment from 1763, before being named as commander-in-chief of the Army in 1766. Reynolds painted other versions of this portrait, including a three-quarter length painting in which Granby wears the uniform of his colonelcy of the Royal Horse Guards, and full-length portraits combining this artillery uniform with a breast-plate, presumably derived from the former. The other portraits are in the Ringling Museum, Florida; Trinity College, Cambridge; and the Royal Collection. (National Army Museum)



## Arms and Armour at the Tower of London

The Royal Armouries, in association with the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, Birkbeck College, University of London are arranging a series of day and evening courses. Under the title 'Arms & Armour at the Tower', they offer ten weekly sessions, 6.30 p.m. – 8.30 p.m. every Tuesday evening from 18 April to 20 June, full fee £19. The course consists of wide-ranging gallery visits guided by curators, chances to handle pieces from reserve collections, demonstrations, slide-talks and films. All-day workshops are also offered for £20 per diem, lunch included, on 10 June (The Flintlock in War and Peace) and 24 June (The Craft of the Armourer). These are described as 'designed for

active participation, including demonstrations and practical sessions, intended especially for those wishing to develop or apply a special interest whether as curators or collectors, or in metalwork, historical re-enactment or wargaming.' These initiatives seem to us highly praiseworthy, and we are sure that those who attend will find them valuable and fascinating. Details and booking forms may be had from the Education Centre, Waterloo Barracks, HM Tower of London, EC3N 4AB (tel: 01-480-6358, ext. 332).

## Errata

In 'MI' No.18, p.11, third paragraph, we transposed the last two words of '1/2 Rég. Étrangère d'Infanterie'. On p.35, colour caption 6, for 'Amor' read 'Amir'.

## Video Releases to Rent:

- 'BAT\*21' (RCA/Columbia:15)
- 'Love and War' (Sony:15)
- 'The Hanoi Hilton'
- (Warner Home Video:18)
- 'Dear America'
- (RCA/Columbia:PG)

The Vietnam war continues to inspire new video releases, both feature and documentary. Peter Markle's *BAT\*21* is based on the book of the same title by William C. Anderson. It tells the true story of electronic countermeasures expert Lt. Col. Icral Hambleton, who was shot down over Vietnam in 1972 while on a reconnaissance mission. Using codename 'BAT\*21', Hambleton (Gene Hackman) quickly establishes radio contact with spotter pilot Capt. Bartholemew 'Bird dog' Clark (Danny Glover), but an immediate

## ON THE SCREEN

rescue is precluded by the proximity of enemy troops. Aware that the vicinity is soon to be subjected to carpet-bombing, he decides to escape on foot, his route communicated to 'Bird dog' using an improvised code based on golfing terminology. Bursts of action alternate with scenes portraying the developing relationship between Hambleton and Clark, although the pair do not meet until the climax. The result is a well-made traditional war movie which eschews both heavily emphasised messages and false heroics, and holds the attention.

Two releases concern American POWs in Hanoi's infamous Hao Lo prison. Paul Aaron's *Love and War* (1987) is an American television

movie based on the book *In Love and War* by Jim and Anne Stockdale. Stockdale, the highest-ranking American POW in Vietnam, was a flight commander on the USS *Enterprise* in August 1964 when US warships were allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese gunboats in the Gulf of Tonkin; and he was fully aware that at least one of the incidents was a fabrication, used to justify retaliatory air strikes. Stockdale (James Woods) is shot down, and spends much of his seven and a half year's captivity in solitary confinement. His captors use daily torture in their attempt to force a confession about the Gulf of Tonkin incident, but he refuses to submit. Meanwhile, his wife Anne (Jane Alexander) con-

tacts other relatives of POWs. They disbelieve official claims that the prisoners are being well treated, and establish contact with them through messages unwittingly communicated via 'peace movement' representatives. The film omits important details found in the book, such as Anne's mental breakdowns, and her being wired by the Navy to eavesdrop on the State Department. In spite of good central performances, budget limitations betray its made-for-television origins.

*The Hanoi Hilton* (1987) tells the fictionalised story of several American POWs. Michael Moriarty plays Lt. Cmdr. Patrick Michael Williamson, a pilot from the USS *Hancock* brought down over North Vietnam. His co-pilot, whose leg is broken, is shot when captured, but Williamson is transferred to Hao Lo prison. After



a long period of isolation he is allowed contact with other American prisoners. They are all offered early release if they will give vital information, and tortured when they refuse. Most break under sustained interrogation, but few collaborate fully. This long-cherished project by writer-director Lionel Chetwynd is hampered by an ill-conceived script which, for example, passes over the one escape attempt too quickly to develop any tension. The film is visually dull, partly through the inevitable drabness of the sets and prison uniforms, and partly through unimaginative lighting. As both this film and *Love and War* fail to fully capitalise on what are potentially absorbing stories of endurance under conditions of privation, the definitive Vietnam POW film has yet to be made.

Bill Coutourie's *Dear America - Letters Home From Vietnam* is based on the book of the same title, edited

by Bernard Edelman for the New York Vietnam Veterans Memorial Commission. It consists of letters written by American servicemen and women to friends and family in America, augmented by documentary footage, photographs, home movies and period popular music. The letters form a poignant reminder of the experience of those directly participating in the war, and are read by actors including Robert de Niro, Martin Sheen, Robin Williams and Willem Dafoe. The film will doubtless prove to be one of the most lasting of Vietnam documentaries, and is highly recommended.

**Video Releases to Buy:**  
**'The Battle of Dien Bien Phu'**  
 (GMH Entertainments)  
**'Vietnam - The News Story'**  
 (Video Collection:15)  
**'Vietnam - The Ten Thousand Day War'**  
 (DD Distribution)  
*The Battle of Dien Bien Phu* is yet

another of the series of documentary films written and produced by Peter Batty in the early 1970s. Lasting about 50 minutes, Bernard Archard's commentary gives a brief history of French involvement in Vietnam before moving onto the 56 day siege which resulted in their withdrawal and the division of the country at the 17th parallel. The fact that little film was taken during the siege has necessitated the (unacknowledged, and noticeable) use of French film taken during other campaigns, and North Vietnamese reconstructions filmed after the event. Some of the footage first appeared in *Vietnam* (1955), a documentary made by Soviet film-maker Roman Karmen who arrived in time to film the French surrender. Interviews with survivors are surprisingly limited to brief comments from a few French officers describing the appalling conditions during the siege. The documentary curiously fails to use maps

A still from 'Dear America', the compilation of servicemen's letters home from Vietnam illustrated by documentary and private film footage. (RCA/Columbia)

showing the intricate defensive system, or provide details concerning which units were involved. It can therefore only be considered as a most general introduction to the subject which will offer nothing new to those already familiar with it.

*Vietnam - The News Story* is an Independent Television News production consisting of some ITN reports linked by other documentary material to provide a context. An hour is far too short to cover such a vast subject, but the film does contain some memorable sequences. Among these are Michael Nicholson's 1975 report of the battle at Newport Bridge, the last obstacle the North Vietnamese had to cross before entering Saigon; and Sandy Gall's report on their arrival in the city. There is also a brief post-war glimpse of the vast underground tunnel complex at Cu Chi.

*Vietnam - The Ten Thousand Day War*, the excellent 26 part Canadian television series, was first broadcast in this country by Channel 4 in 1984. It has now been released, in a slightly re-edited form, on 13 video cassettes each lasting about an hour. The first, called *America in Vietnam*, is an overview of American involvement, while subsequent episodes cover the events chronologically from 1945 to 1975. Arguably the most comprehensive record of the war available on video, it is narrated by Richard Basehart, and features documentary footage and interviews with participants from both sides.

Stephen J. Greenhill

Over the last few months there have been several interesting changes on the auction scene. Kent Sales have for years been the happy hunting grounds for arms, armour, militaria and aviation collectors of limited means. They were happy to handle lots of comparatively low value that many other auction rooms would not entertain. The number of lots in their sales was usually high; and the catalogues, often with a touch of tongue-in-cheek humour in the descriptions, made good reading.

The work force was quite small, and the time and effort needed to receive, catalogue, sell and despatch the goods was enormous. Sadly, these demands have proved too much; and the owners have, quite understandably, opted for a much less exhausting method of selling. Instead of conventional bidding, future sales will use the tender system. The catalogue will give estimates; subscribers will be invited to send in tenders for their chosen lots, and the highest tender will be the successful purchaser. In the event of two equal tenders the first offer opened will be accepted.

The other big change for Kent Sales is that only lots of some sub-

## THE AUCTION SCENE

stantial interest or rarity will, in future, be accepted. This does not mean that a high cut-off figure will be imposed, but the very cheap lots will be rejected. Unfortunately this means that there is now a gap in the collectors' market for those with only a small amount of ready money. The main sources of supply for such collectors would seem to be the boot sales, street markets and specialist fairs.

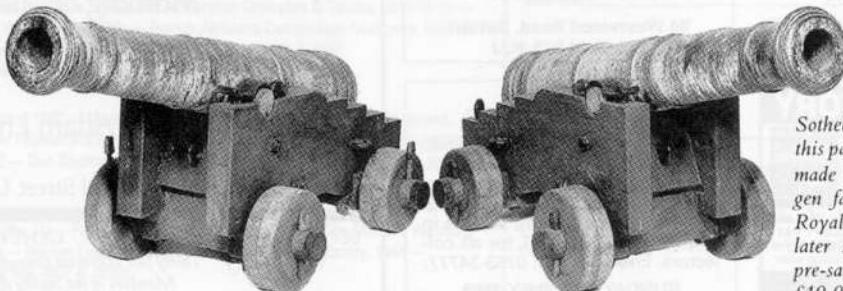
For the shooter and specialist in vintage firearms the main auction rooms have always been Weller & Duffy of Birmingham, which was run by Ron Duffy. Ill health has

forced the retirement of Mr. Duffy, and the firm is now controlled by Dr. Sturgess, a well-known collector. The day-to-day running of sales is in the hands of Mike Scott, who moved from Trident Arms to take up the appointment.

It is interesting to note that recent Weller & Duffy sales are now showing the first effects of the new firearms legislation. Bolt-action rifles are rising in price as shooters, forced by the new legislation to hand in their self-loading rifles, are turning to manually-operated weapons. Lee Enfield No. 4 rifles have for some time been fairly readily available at

prices of around £60 - £80; but the usual going price in auction is now around £100, and this upward trend will no doubt continue as demand grows. The rise in firearm prices seems to be general, although perhaps not excessive compared with the increase in inflation. However, there was some surprise when a good Webley-Fosbery self-cocking .455 revolver sold for £2,500 in a recent Weller sale. Rimfire weapons, benefitting from their exemption from legal control, continue to make good prices - a Remington .41 double-barrelled derringer realised £210 in the same sale. A Nobel cartridge display board dating from around 1900 sold for £1,200.

Although perhaps not as well



Sotheby's sale on 11 May included this pair of bronze ship's deck guns, made in Holland by the Verbruggen family, 1782; they bear the Royal cypher, and are mounted in later naval truck carriages. The pre-sale estimate was £8,000 - £10,000. (Sotheby's)

known for their militaria, Wellers offered a collection of British helmet plates in their February sale. A plate of the 2nd West Riding Yorkshire Engineers (Leeds Volunteers) with Queen Victoria crown made £90 and most of the other plates reached around the £40 mark.

Wallis & Wallis had an interesting collection of 32 detached gun locks ranging from matchlock to percussion in their February sale. Most realised prices below £100, and it was only the older and less common that pushed prices up – an English matchlock realised £255 and a finely-chiselled Italian example of about 1700 fetched £180. The highest price was £310 for a cannon lock, circa 1800. At the same sale a well-made Victorian copy of a Maximilian gauntlet sold for £320, indicating how strong the demand is for armour – even copies.

The main auction houses have not had many sales over the last few months, although both Sotheby's and Christie's have sales planned for the near future. Both rooms have a number of good pieces in the sales; and Sotheby's are also holding a House Sale at Thoresby Hall, near

Newark, which will include a number of weapons and pieces of armour. One interesting offer is a group of flintlock muskets and bayonets, all numbered, which belonged to the Thoresby Volunteers around 1800. Both of Sotheby's sales will be including a number of interesting cannon. Christies' sale includes a number of relevant books, which seem to increase in value as years pass – the three-volume catalogue of the Scott Collection in Glasgow is estimated at £800-£850.

Another field which seems to be yielding very good prices is that of Islamic weapons, and Sotheby's has a number of fine pieces in a forthcoming sale. An Ottoman dagger of the second half of the 17th century is estimated at £12,000-£15,000, and a fine Islamic 16th century gilt-copper chanfron is estimated at £20,000-£30,000.

For the collector with less money to spend there is the London Arms Fair on 28-29 April. It will be interesting to see if the rather pessimistic claims of many dealers, that trade is very slow, will be confirmed.

**Frederick Wilkinson**

An officer's 1869-1978 pattern shako of the 109th (later 2nd Battalion, Leinster Regiment). Estimate: £350-450



## Militaria Sale

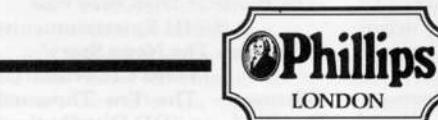
Sale: Friday, 16 June 1989 at 10.30a.m.

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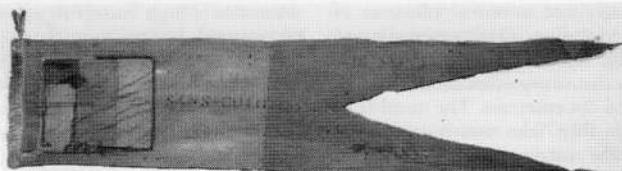


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SUNDAY 16th JULY 1989

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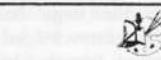
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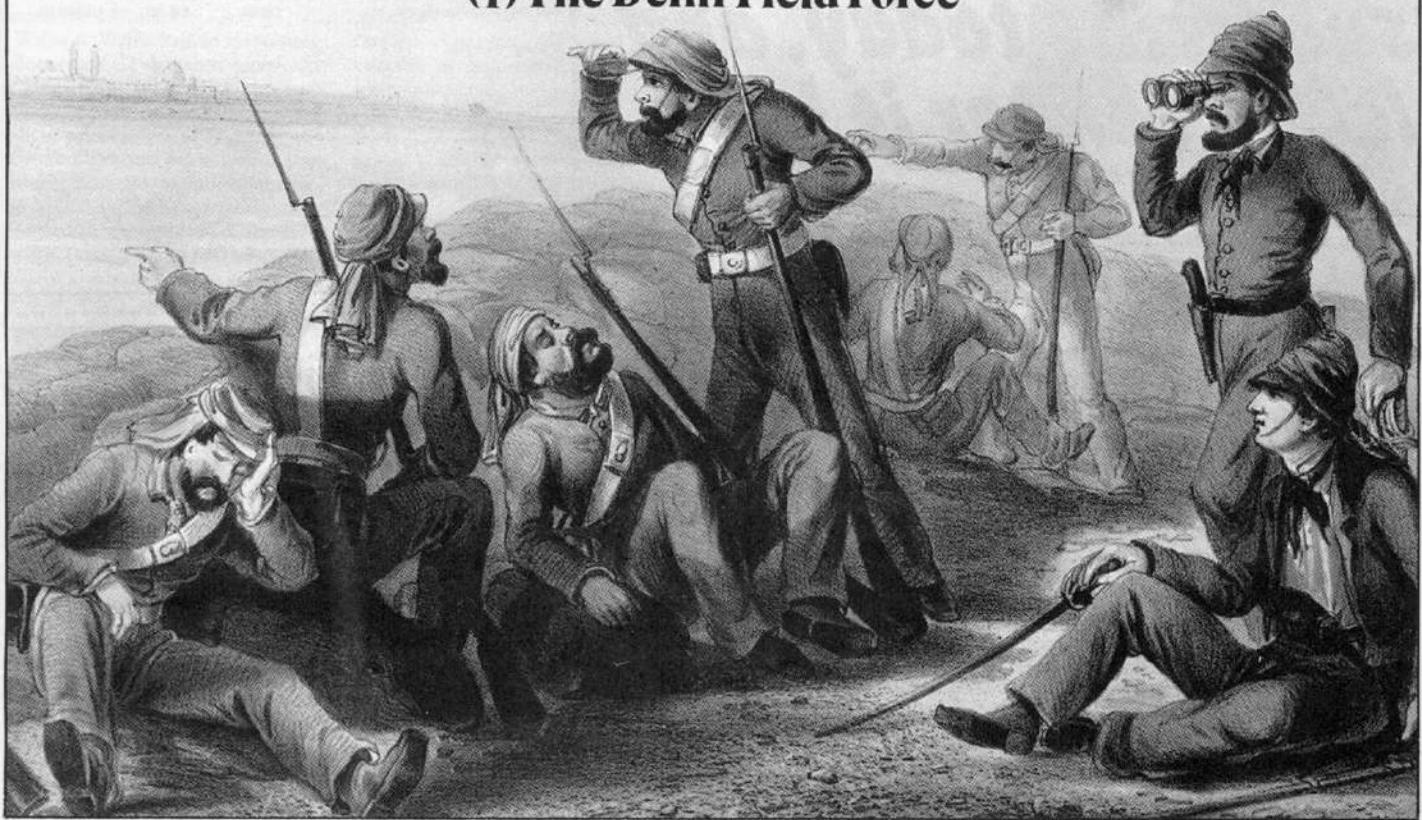
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SUNDAY 30th JULY 1989

# Indian Mutiny Campaign Dress

## (1) The Delhi Field Force



MICHAEL BARTHORP

Paintings by DOUGLAS ANDERSON

In this two-part article, the author describes the appearance during the Mutiny of purely practical campaigning uniforms for the British soldier – an innovation unique in the history of the Victorian army up to that time, and one which would not be repeated for many years.

The Indian Mutiny, or Sepoy Revolt, of 1857–59 was one of the British Army's major colonial campaigns of the 19th century. Had it not been successfully quelled, British imperial power and prestige would have been seriously impaired. As it was, it greatly affected the sub-continent's future governance and the composition of the Army in India. Although

hindsight shows that the threat proved neither as extensive nor as difficult to overcome as at first feared, at the time the future of India seemed at stake.

Furthermore, since it involved the sudden, almost total rebellion of the largest military force in India, the hitherto admired and trusted East India Company's Bengal Army, with a century's loyal service behind it – to whose cause various dissident elements speedily adhered<sup>(1)</sup> – imperial certainties were profoundly shaken. British military and civilian attitudes were further shocked by reports of atrocities against European women and children, which later accounted

1st European Bengal Fusiliers on picquet. Grey shell jackets and trousers, officers in helmets, men in covered forage caps. Note men's shoulder belt plates, cap pouches on waistbelts, no expense pouches. After Capt. G.F. Atkinson, Bengal Engineers. (National Army Museum)

<sup>(1)</sup> Superior numerals refer to the notes at the end of this article.

for the ruthlessness with which captured mutineers, and sometimes innocent civilians were treated.

The course of the Mutiny witnessed epic sieges and defences of cities, and incredibly arduous marches in relief of garrisons or in pursuit. Every encounter was contested with great ferocity, and also made singular by both sides having been trained in the same school. That one side ultimately applied this mutual training to greater advantage ironically owed much to the rifle over which its opponents had chosen to mutiny rather than accept.

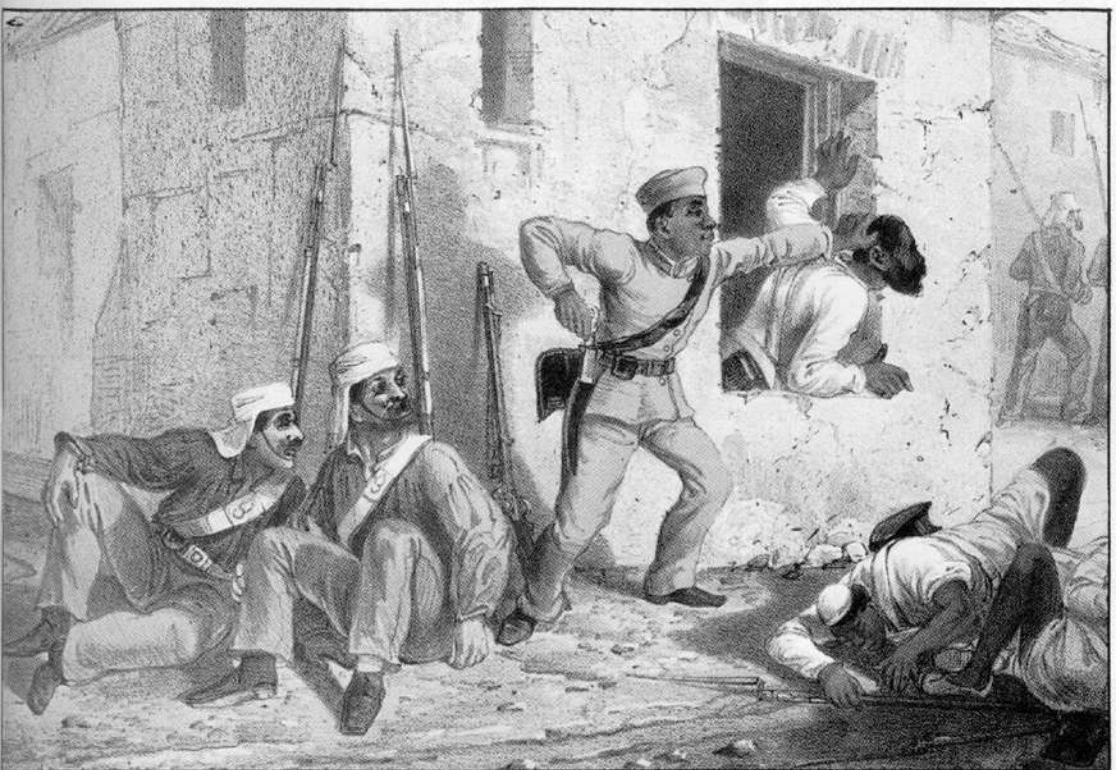
This two-part article seeks to draw attention to one aspect of the Mutiny which was unique at the time: the adaptation of the British soldier's dress to enable him to function in the most exhausting and oppressive climatic conditions. This resulted in costumes of a purely utilitarian nature, the like of which had not been seen before, and would not reappear until comparatively recent times.

### CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

British soldiers had campaigned in India since the 18th century; but fighting had almost always occurred in the so-called 'cold weather', when temperatures of 40°–80°F, not unlike an English summer, had enabled them to exist without undue discomfort in their regulation cloth uniforms. The Sikh Wars (1845–48), for example, had been fought between November and February by troops wearing home service clothing<sup>(2)</sup>. The Mutiny fighting, however, went on throughout the year. Europeans – many unacclimatised, having only recently arrived from England – had to live, march and fight in conditions of suffocating heat and monsoon with temperatures up to, even beyond 100°F: the time of year when, in peace-time, troops were forbidden to expose themselves out of doors from a short time after sunrise until sunset.

As a result, seldom has a British field army fought a campaign in such a variety of

*2nd Bengal European Fusiliers with a Gurkha, probably Kumaon Battalion. Fusiliers with white caps, brown khaki shirts and trousers. Gurkha with similarly coloured frock and trousers, black belts. After Atkinson. (NAM)*



largely makeshift costumes. Its officers adopted clothing which can most succinctly be described as not uniform. To the European civilians of Agra, fortunately spared the perils and hardships their countryfolk had faced elsewhere, a column of British infantry entering the city were unrecognisable as Englishmen: a lady thought that 'those dreadful-looking men must be Afghans'.

#### **THE DELHI FORCE**

In fact they were the 8th King's and 75th Regiments, in 'slate-coloured' clothing – units recently part of the Delhi Field Force which forms the first part of this examination. Between May and September Delhi had been besieged, assaulted, and finally captured by this force from mutinous sepoys and their adherents whose strength outnumbered the besiegers by between ten and five to one. The Delhi Field Force had three components: British (or 'Queen's') cavalry and infantry; the Company's Bengal European infantry and its part-European, part-Indian artillery and engineers; and loyal Gurkha and Indian regiments, horse and foot, most from the Punjab Irregular (later Frontier) Force<sup>(3)</sup>. The Queen's regiments had all been in India since the 1840s, except the 6th Dragoon Guards who were recent arrivals.

#### **Khaki**

The Queen's and Company European regiments in peace-time garrisons had two basic uniforms: in the cold weather the red, blue or green cloth as worn at home according to the dress changes of 1855-

*Destroying the Kashmir Gate, 13 September 1857. In the ditch, from left: Lt. Home, Bengal Engineers; Lt. Salkeld, BE (wounded); Bgr. Hawthorne, 52nd; Cpl. Burgess, Bengal Sappers & Miners (face down); Indian sappers; on bridge, Sgt. Smith, BS&M. See text. After Eyre Crowe ARA. (NAM)*



*The 60th Rifles' engagement at Ghazi-ud-din-Nagar en route for Delhi. See text. Engraving from Illustrated Times. (Army Museums Ogilby Trust)*

56<sup>(4)</sup>; in summer, white cotton drill shell jackets and trousers with cap covers. In 1846 the Corps of Guides, newly-raised for service on the North-West Frontier, had been given clothing dyed to a dust colour – khaki; and their example had been followed by other regiments of the Punjab Irregular Force<sup>(5)</sup>. Owing to rudimentary dyeing methods, this early khaki was described as ‘a sort of grey drab, varying very much in tint, being nearly the colour of the desert or the bare stony hills’; others called it ‘ash-coloured’ or ‘stone’. Whatever the shade, this sensible measure would ultimately be copied by most European regiments of the Delhi Field Force, but credit for its first adoption by Europeans is usually accorded to Col. Campbell, commanding the 52nd Light Infantry.

#### INFANTRY DRESS

Before leaving Sialkot on 25 May 1857 to join the Punjab Moveable Column, Campbell had one white suit per man dyed with the view ‘of diminishing the Indian kit, on account of the difficulty of getting the white trousers and jackets washed quickly. The men were obliged to have five pairs of trousers, whereas with the kharka (sic) two were sufficient. Moreover I thought it would be a good colour for service’<sup>(6)</sup>. Bugler Johnson of the 52nd recalled the shade achieved as ‘the colour of the ground’<sup>(7)</sup>. When the regiment reached Lahore on 2 June, Lt. Lang of the Bengal Engineers recorded in his journal that ‘in their jackets, trousers and cap covers, dyed Khakee, [they] look very soldierly and serviceable’<sup>(8)</sup>. After much marching and several skirmishes with the mutineers, the 52nd reached Delhi on 14 August.

With them were three companies of the 61st Regiment, whose main body had arrived at Delhi from Ferozepore on 1 July. After its arri-

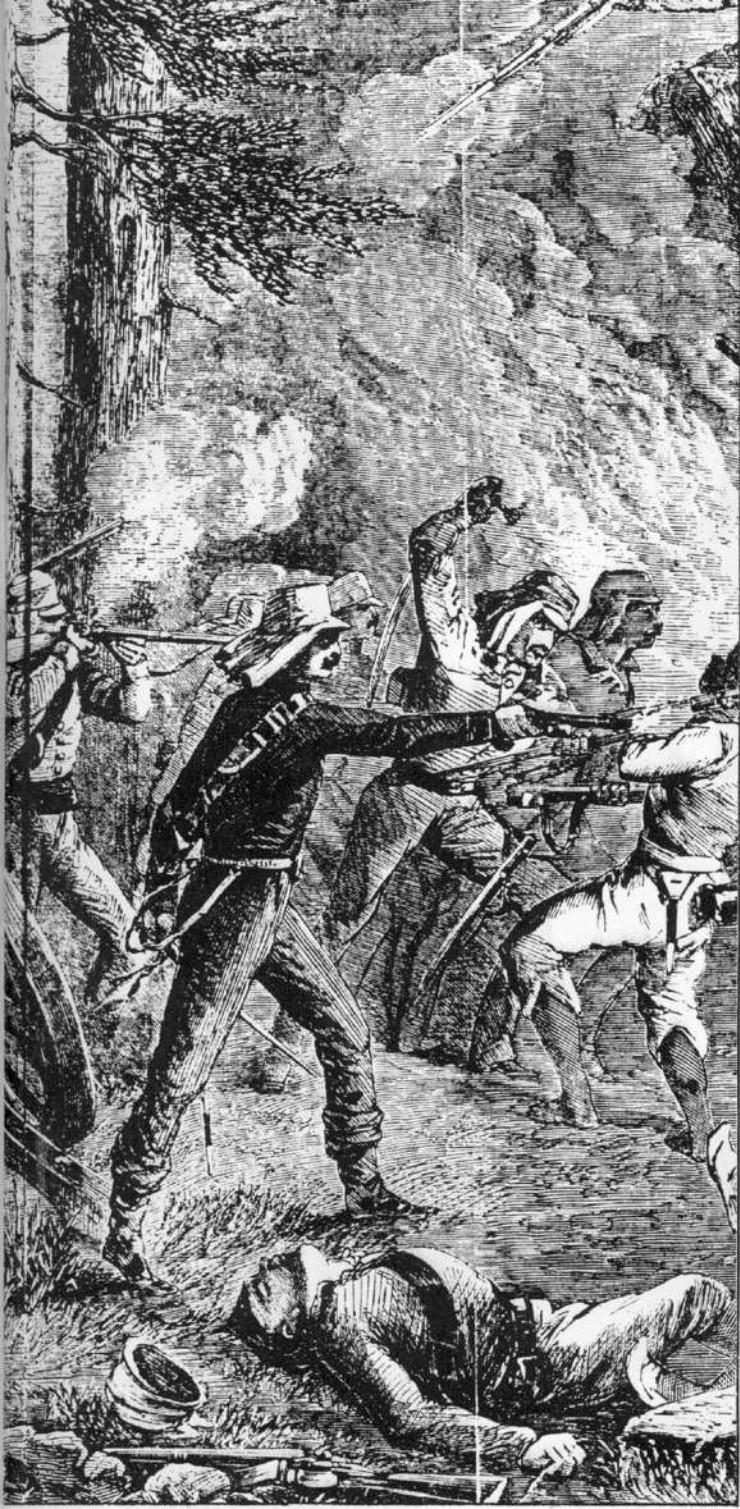


val Lt. Sloman wrote: ‘As our white clothes showed the dirt and dust so soon, they have all been dyed a sort of bluish brown colour, known out here as ‘karky’. It is a great improvement and a distinct advantage as now we know our men from others at a glance’<sup>(9)</sup>. This suggests that of the British infantry in front of Delhi in July<sup>(10)</sup>, the 61st were the first to adopt khaki.

Certainly the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, according to Capt. Atkinson of the Bengal Engineers<sup>(11)</sup>, had marched to Delhi in white: trousers, shirts with black neckerchiefs and rolled-up sleeves, and

forage cap covers. Their officers were similarly dressed, but with unbuttoned shell jackets and sun helmets with large puggarees. The wearing of shirt-sleeves by British soldiers, particularly on service, has become commonplace for much of this century, but in 1857 it was unusual enough to attract comment. At Delhi Capt. Griffiths of the 61st, after deplored how ‘many corps had become quite regardless of appearance, entirely discarding all pretensions to uniformity, and adopting the most nondescript dress’, singled out the Bengal Fusiliers

for their ‘sobriquet of the “Dirty Shirts”, from their habit of fighting in their shirts with sleeves turned up, without jacket or coat, and their nether extremities clad in soiled blue dungaree trousers’<sup>(12)</sup>. When Maj. Gen. Archdale Wilson acceded to command of the Delhi Field Force on 14 July, Griffiths welcomed his ‘stringent orders for the maintenance of order and discipline’, which included ‘a great and desirable change in the matter of uniform’. This would seem to have initiated the dyeing of all white clothing among the force.



A number of Atkinson's lithographs show the 1st Fusiliers in action wearing shell jackets and trousers of a greyish hue and similarly dyed puggarees around their curtained forage caps, their officers in helmets. One lithograph of the 2nd Fusiliers has them in white covered and curtained caps, brownish khaki shirts and trousers. Capt. Medley of the Bengal Engineers wrote: 'The 1st Punjab Infantry and Sirmoor Battalion of Gurkhas stuck to their original green which looked purposefully dilapidated by the service it had seen. Almost every other

regiment (cavalry, artillery and infantry), Native and European, turned out in khaki, but it was of so many different shades — puce colour, slate colour, drab &c — that a delightful variety was exhibited, not only in the backing of the different corps, but in men belonging to the same company. There was certainly little of the pomp, whatever there might be of circumstance, of war at Delhi. As long as a man's weapon was in good fighting order, commanding officers did not trouble their heads very much about the dressing.<sup>(13)</sup>



Throughout July and most of August, with temperatures around 90°F, the monsoon fell, churning the ground into a quagmire. A plague of flies descended on Delhi Ridge, feeding on putrescent flesh and causing cholera among the force. The 61st's camp became 'a swamp and a mud-hole' and many of its men, though mostly old soldiers 'of good physique and inured to the climate'<sup>(12)</sup>, succumbed to the appalling conditions. On top of this the men faced constant and arduous duties and engagements around the pickets and batteries, not to mention the fierce fighting

**Above right:**  
*Private, 9th Lancers, confronting mutineers. White stable dress, piped red. Detail after Atkinson. (NAM)*

**Above:**  
*Officer, Bengal Horse Artillery, outside Delhi. See text. Detail after Atkinson. (NAM)*

that followed the assault on 13 September, so that the improved standards of turnout required by Archdale Wilson must have been difficult to maintain. The dyeing of the white clothing merely made the accumulated dirt less obvious.

Two soldiers left accounts of their regiments' appear-

**1A**) Bugler, 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry, based on Bugler Johnson's reminiscences quoted in the text. He wears a bazaar-dyed flannel shirt outside his white drill trousers, also dyed. His green Kil-marnock forage cap has a khaki cover, curtain and puggaree. He is accoutred with waistbelt and frog for the bugler's sword, worn over a 'waist turban'; and a locally-made water-bottle. Note the old pattern bugle, which was superceded in the 1860s by the smaller model. All Light Infantry had buglers instead of drummers.

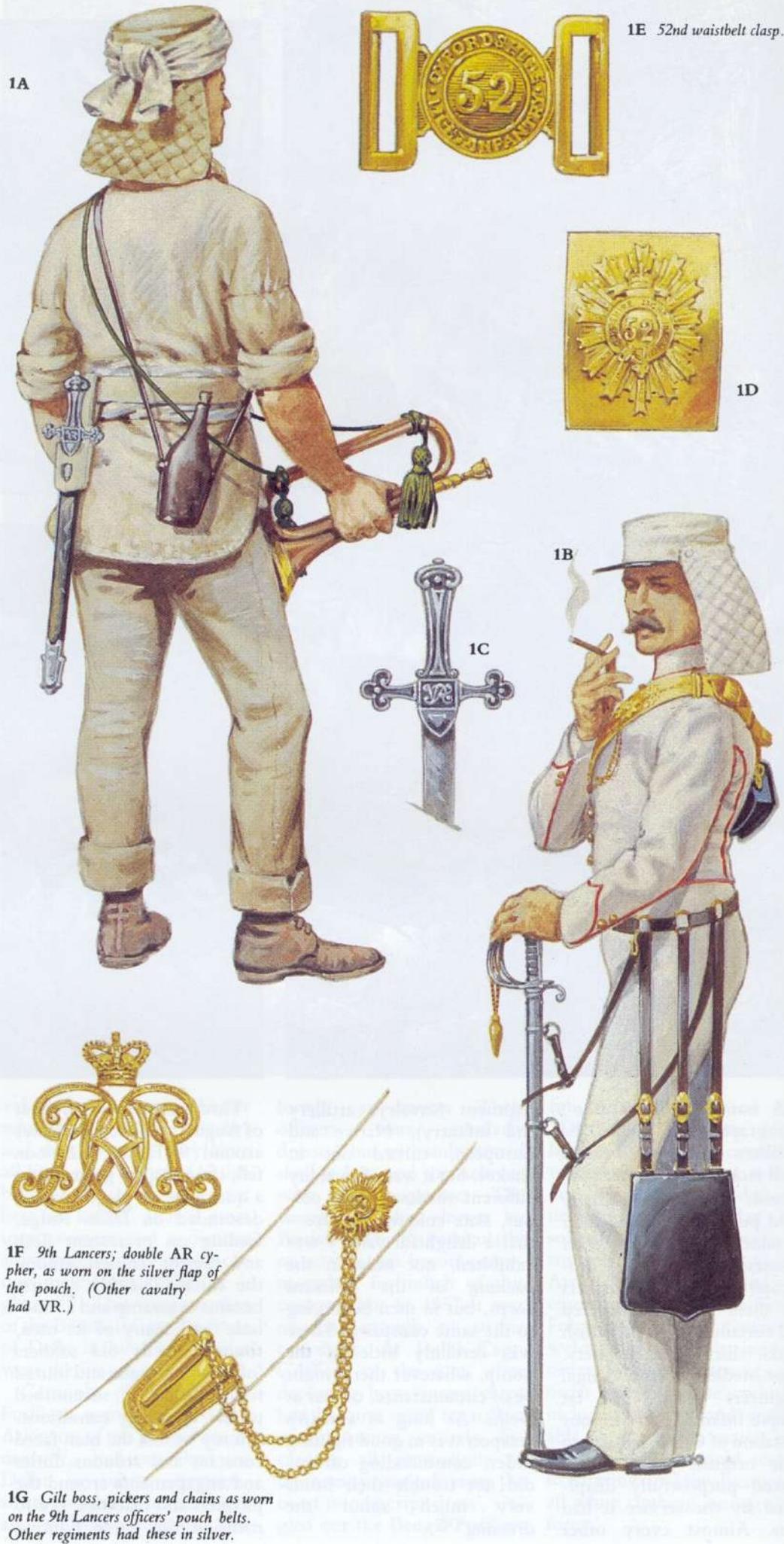
**1B**) Troop Officer, 9th (Queen's Royal) Lancers, based on Upton, Atkinson and Anson - see text - and on Dress Regulations. He wears Indian hot weather stable dress; and is accoutred with the regiment's special dress pouch belt and undress sword and sabretache belt, its brown morocco leather also being peculiar to this regiment. His sword is the 1823 Light Cavalry Officers' pattern.

**1C**) Bugler's iron sword hilt; drummers had brass.

**1D**) 52nd shoulder belt plate. Though officially obsolete, these were still being worn on their pouch belts by the soldiers of the 52nd in 1857.

ance, which we reconstruct as Plates 1A and 2B. Bugler Johnson of the 52nd said that: 'Instead of the jacket, nearly all wore the loose flannel shirt outside the trousers with waist turban and belts outside. Our headdress consisted of the old forage cap, with khaki cover (quilted), curtain and puggaree. Everyone wore alike - officers, NCOs, band, buglers and rank and file'<sup>(7)</sup>. Ensign Wilberforce of the same regiment recorded that for the assault he and a brother officer each wore new flannel shirts which he 'had been carefully treasuring for future use'<sup>(14)</sup>. In Eyre Crowe's drawing<sup>(15)</sup> of the destruction of the Kashmir Gate, Bugler Hawthorne, 52nd, one of the VCs, appears to be in a shell jacket and his cap has a peak not mentioned by Johnson, but its shape and height suggest it might be a covered 1855-pattern shako. In view of the hazardous nature of the enterprise, Hawthorne may have felt more protective wadding could be packed inside a shako than a forage cap.<sup>(16)</sup>

Sgt.Maj.Baker recalled





2C Hilt of 1853 Enfield socket bayonet.



2D Detail of 20-round expense pouch.



2E Regimental button, 61st.



2A



2B

2A) Staff Officer, based on Atkinson and various portraits. This is a typical officer of the Field Force headquarters in a costume largely of his own design and local manufacture, devoid of regulation dress. His helmet is of cotton-covered wicker with airpipe crest and puggaree; his clothing is of cotton twill. His belts and slings are stained black for practicality; they support an 1822 pattern sword as prescribed for Staff, Engineers and Infantry, a 'pepperbox' multi-barrel percussion pistol, and a binocular case.

2B) Private, 61st (South Gloucestershire) Regiment, based on Slooman and Baker – see text. His blue Kilmarnock forage cap is fitted with a peak, cover and curtain. His hot weather white drill shell jacket has been dyed; his cotton trousers are blue dungaree. His accoutrements are the pouch belt with main 40-round pouch, and the waistbelt with 20-round expense pouch, and bayonet frog. He is armed with the .577in. Enfield rifle, with 39in. barrel, sighted to 1,200 yards, and its 17in. socket bayonet. Muzzle-loading and percussion-fired, its rate of fire was two rounds per minute.



2F Hilt detail, 1822 pattern officers' sword.



2G Binocular case suspended from crossbelt.

that the 61st 'wore all kinds of clothing at the capture of the Magazine on 16 September; principally the twill cotton shell jackets and trousers dyed a very ugly khaki; some were in old blue cotton trousers<sup>(12)</sup>, in fact we were a rough-looking lot dressed anyhow. The men wore the old round forage caps with white covers, which were very dirty, the leather peak covered, with a curtain behind to protect the neck. The officers and men wore beards'<sup>(17)</sup>.

### THE RIFLES

The green uniforms of the 1st Punjabis and Gurkhas have already been mentioned, and there is some evidence that the 60th Rifles followed suit. Having left Meerut for Delhi on 25 May, they fought an action at Ghazi-ud-din-Nagar on 30 May about which a sergeant wrote: 'On account of the difficulty in procuring carriage we could only bring one change of



*Lt.Renny, BHA, winning the VC at the Delhi Magazine, 16 September, supported by his gunners (with swords below ladder), some of the 61st (with rifles) and the Baluch Battalion (green turbans and coats, red trousers). BHA officers had brown undress waistbelts. Modern painting by David Rowlands. (Courtesy of the artist)*

clothing and no white clothing. We are wearing the same as we did on Christmas Day and what we have is as ragged as can be<sup>(18)</sup>. An engraving of this action depicts the 60th in covered and curtained forage caps with shell jackets<sup>(19)</sup>.

During the siege Maj. Charles Reid noted that both his Sirmoor Gurkhas and the 60th considered that green cloth kept out the rays of the sun better than cotton or linen, which reduced a man's skin to 'raw beef'<sup>(20)</sup>. The 60th history<sup>(21)</sup> claims that the Riflemen's immunity from cholera was partially due to their Surgeon, J.H.Innes-Kerr, 'by whose advice officers and men wore their green serge jackets instead of the fancy linen garments in which most of the other regiments delighted'. It also quotes Ensign Heathcote's story that

the King of Delhi offered a reward for every Rifleman's jacket brought in, so feared was the 60th's marksmanship. Capt.Barter, 75th, mentions 'the dark forms of the 60th' in the assault<sup>(20)</sup>; and a somewhat suspect engraving of the assault after Orlando Norie shows the regiment in green, red-faced shell jackets with white trousers, but with very unlikely (for this date) crested helmets with green puggarees worn by all ranks<sup>(22)</sup>. A photograph allegedly taken shortly after the capture of Delhi shows the 60th's officers all in green jackets<sup>(23)</sup>.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand how Europeans could have functioned effectively in oppressive heat wearing home service clothing, however inured they were to the climate – and the 60th had been in India since 1845. It may be that, notwithstanding the heat, Riflemen were so attached to their green that they assumed it when action was imminent, as they had on the evening the Mutiny broke out at Meerut<sup>(24)</sup>.

### CAVALRY, ARTILLERY AND ENGINEERS

Khaki was also eschewed by the 9th Lancers whose colonel, as Bugler Johnson observed, 'used to bring them into action in white'<sup>(7)</sup>: a recollection corroborated by both Atkinson and a sketch by Capt.Upton of that regiment. Both show the men in white covered and curtained, but peakless, forage caps and white stable dress, the jackets piped in red, the 9th's facing colour. (An officer is reconstructed as Plate 1B). According to Maj.Anson of the regiment, the cap curtains were not received until 17 August, and on 9 September they dyed their puggarees – possibly the better to conceal from enemy snipers the white covers of lancers who by then were assisting the gunners in the siege batteries.

Anson also noted the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers) looking 'dreadfully heavy and oppressed in their blue clothing. They envy us much our comfortable white clothing'<sup>(25)</sup>. Having only

joined the Meerut garrison in March the Carabiniers either had not yet had their white summer clothing made up or, like the 60th, had been unable to carry it to Delhi.

#### Artillery

The artillery at Delhi was manned chiefly by the Company's Bengal Horse and Foot European gunners.<sup>(26)</sup> Like the other troops from Meerut, Maj.Tombs's 2/1 Troop BHA had marched for Delhi in winter clothing, but on the road Tombs ordered them to cut off the red collars of their laced blue jackets. Once at Delhi the white clothing was adopted and subsequently dyed; their blue forage caps had quilted covers and curtains, though Atkinson showed one troop with all ranks in crested helmets with puggarees – possibly these may be intended to represent the full dress BHA helmets in white covers<sup>(27)</sup>.

The siege train of 14 heavy guns, six howitzers and 14 mortars, which reached Delhi on 3 September, was without gunners, so the breaching batteries had to be manned by artillerymen

already at Delhi, aided by dismounted cavalry and infantry, the field guns being set aside until after the assault. Atkinson drew an 18-pdr. and 8in. howitzer position with its gunners in shirt-sleeves and dungaree trousers.

#### Engineers

According to Atkinson and the aforementioned Crowe drawing, Bengal Engineers officers dressed similarly to the Staff. The two who won the VC at the Kashmir Gate, Lts. Home and Salkeld, are shown by Crowe with helmets, the former having a looped coat (as described below) and rolled-up trousers; Salkeld has dark trousers, which may be the blue winter pattern with broad red stripe. Another VC, Sgt. Smith, Bengal Sappers and Miners, appears to be in a shell jacket with winter trousers and some form of leggings; he too wears a helmet which, in his account of the incident, he said was of leather and thereby saved his head when he

jumped into the ditch as the charges exploded<sup>(28)</sup>.

\* \* \*

#### Officers

The irregularity of officers' dress has already been mentioned. Describing the force's Staff, Medley wrote: 'No two men were dressed alike. Boots of all kinds: top boots, jack boots, ante-grupellos<sup>(29)</sup> etc., with trousers and breeches of every description; coats of every variety of colour and cut, and headdresses including the turban, the helmet, the solar-topee, the wideawake and half-a-dozen others<sup>(13)</sup>'. A popular garment with many officers was a loose coat, hip or thigh length, usually in a khaki cotton, fastened across the front with loops and olivets. Atkinson showed most officers with their coats or jackets unbuttoned or open at the neck, with some sort of necktie or neckerchief around the shirt collar.

Sun helmets, later to become such a feature of Indian service, were of various types, often of a wicker frame

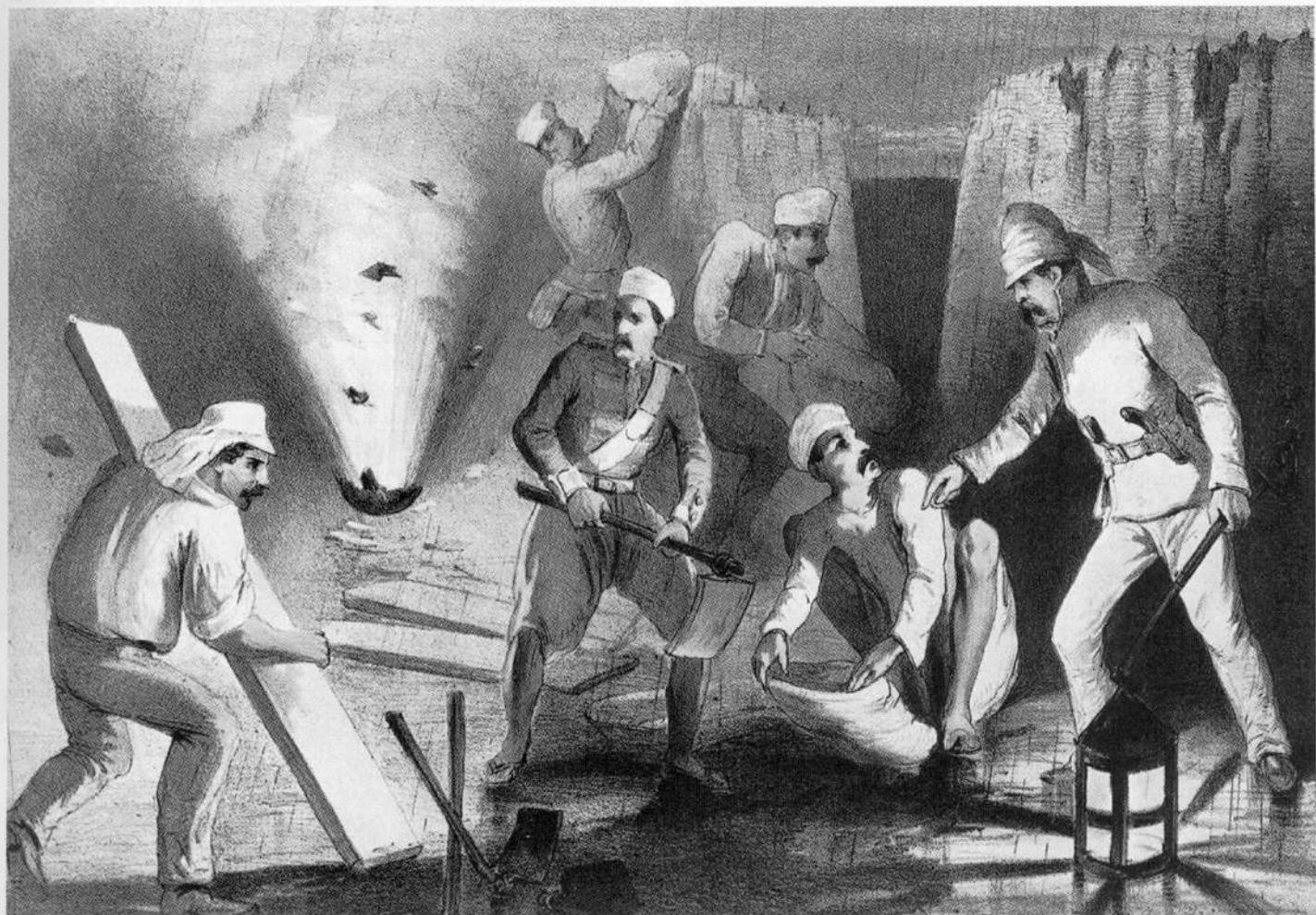
covered with wadded cotton, with either a dome-shaped ventilator or an airpipe crest, and swathed in a puggaree whose ends hung down behind. At Delhi these appear to have been confined to the Staff or to officers of Company regiments. Queen's regimental officers seem mostly to have retained their peaked forage caps with covers. Prior to the assault Capt. Barter, 75th, mentioned wrapping two turbans round his cap with a view to 'getting as good protection for our heads which would be exposed so much going up the ladders'<sup>(20)</sup>. A typical Staff officer is reconstructed as Plate 2A.

#### EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONS

The basic infantryman's equipment was the 1850 pattern waistbelt with circular clasp and bayonet frog, and the black leather ammunition pouch suspended over the left shoulder by its belt, to which was attached in front the buff leather cap pouch. Affording

easier access to ammunition was the expense pouch of 20 rounds, also of black leather, on the right front of the waistbelt. After the substitution of the waistbelt and frog for the old bayonet shoulder belt, the brass plates previously worn where the shoulder belts crossed were abolished; but Bugler Johnson recalled that the 52nd retained them until after the Mutiny, presumably on the pouch belt. So, according to Atkinson, did the Bengal Fusiliers, who also had cap pouches on their waistbelts and no expense pouches. The 60th Rifles' accoutrements were all of black leather. Sgt. Maj. Baker said no water bottles were carried in the 61st, water being provided by the '*bhistis*' from their goatskin '*mussuks*'; but Johnson and Wilberforce both recorded that all ranks of the

Bengal Engineers officer (right), European (left) and Indian sappers in the trenches before Delhi. After Atkinson (NAM)



52nd had soda-water bottles covered with leather and suspended by a strap.

The Enfield rifle, whose greased bullets had provided the final spark to ignite the Mutiny, does not seem to have reached all British infantry in India, despite having been approved in 1853. Lt.Lang refers to an 8th King's picquet armed with 'Brown Bess'<sup>(30)</sup>, whose short range was exploited by mutineers with rifles. Griffiths mentions the 61st having muskets at Ferozepore, but they seem to have received Enfields before leaving for Delhi. The 60th, formerly armed with the Brunswick, received Enfields some time in 1857, converting to the short version authorised for Rifles (and Line sergeants) the following year.

The cavalryman's accoutrements consisted of his waistbelt with sword slings, and his pouch belt with swivel attachment for clipping to the carbine's side bar. As lancers' small arms were pistols, not carbines, the 9th had

18-pounder and 8-inch howitzer breaching battery. See text; and note officer (right) in khaki coat, white trousers. 'Bhisti' in right foreground. After Atkinson. (NAM)

no such attachment. The BHA were accoutréed as cavalry but without carbine swivels.

A universal cavalry sword had been introduced in 1853 and, as recent arrivals in India, the Carabiniers would most probably have had this pattern; but the 9th Lancers, who had been in India since 1841, may still have been armed with the 1821 Light Cavalry pattern. It would appear that the same sword was carried by the BHA, according to S/Sgt.Bancroft's portrait. The 9th's lances were the 9ft. pattern with ash stave and red-and-white lance-flag; according to Sir Hope Grant, then commanding, most of his officers used lances at Delhi.

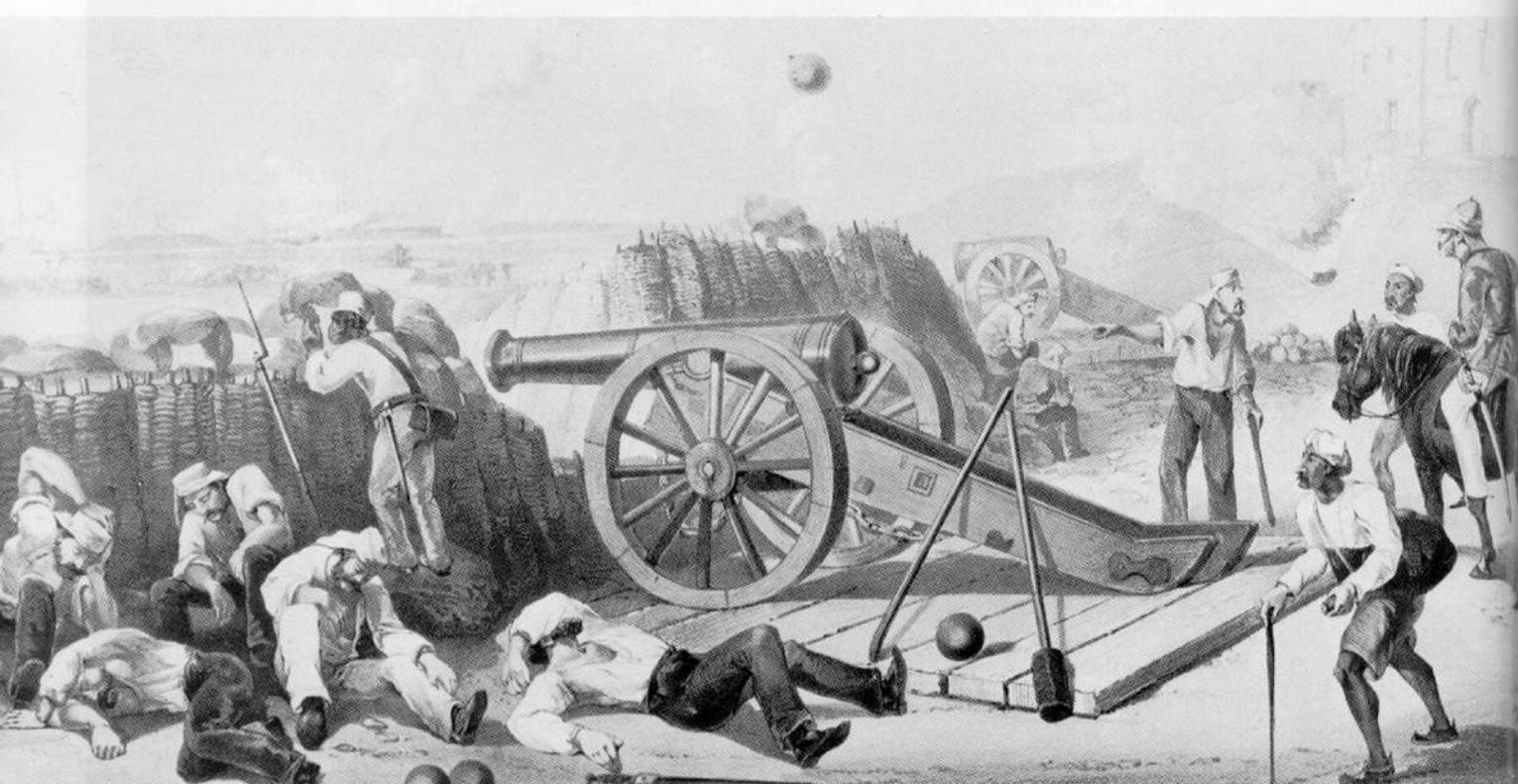
Sappers were accoutréed similarly to infantry but with Lancaster carbines.

Officers of all arms had waistbelts with sword slings, the clasps and swords varying according to arm. Revolvers had been much used in the Crimean War, but Griffiths said they were 'at a premium' in India in 1857, so many officers had to make do with percussion pistols, some obtaining the multi-barrelled 'pepperbox' type (see Plate 2A)<sup>(31)</sup>. [M]

**To be continued:** Part 2 will cover the Central India Field Force.

#### Notes

- (1) The Company's Madras and Bombay Armies, Punjab Irregular Force and many ordinary Indians remained loyal and played an important part in suppressing the Mutiny.
- (2) See Osprey Men-at-Arms 193, *The British Army on Campaign 1816-1902 (1) 1816-53*.
- (3) Queen's: 6th Dragoon Guards, 9th Lancers; 8th, 52nd Light Infantry, 60th Rifles, 61st, 75th. Company: Bengal Horse and Foot Artillery; 1st and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers; Bengal and Punjab Sappers; 1st, 2nd, 5th Punjab Cavalry, Hodson's Horse; Guides; Sirmoor and Kumaon Gurkhas; 1st, 2nd, 4th Punjab Infantry, 4th Sikh Infantry, Baluch Battalion.
- (4) See Osprey Men-at-Arms 196, *The British Army on Campaign 1816-1902 (2) Crimea 1854-56* and (3) 1856-81.
- (5) Except 1st Punjab Infantry in rifle-green.
- (6) Journal, Society for Army Historical Research, Vol.XV, p.181.
- (7) JSAHR, XX, p.172.
- (8) JSAHR, IX, p.75.
- (9) JSAHR, X, p.4 fn.
- (10) 8th, 60th, 75th, 1st and 2nd Fusiliers.
- (11) G.F. Atkinson, *The Campaign in India*: 26 lithographs of Delhi operations, pub.1859.
- (12) C.J.Griffiths, *Narrative of the Siege of Delhi* (1910). Blue dungaree, or 'nankeen cotton' trousers had been used for some years by Queen's and Company troops, probably as working clothing but also worn on campaign; see MAA193.
- (13) J.G.Medley, *An Early Campaign in India* (1858).
- (14) R.G.Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny* (1894)
- (15) Advised by Lt.Thackeray, Bengal Engineers, who won the VC at Delhi.
- (16) There is other evidence of covered shakos worn in the Mutiny, e.g. MAA198, p.11, Plate B1.
- (17) Quoted *The Back Badge* (Gloucestershire Regiment Journal) (1970).
- (18) Anon., *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* (1858).
- (19) *Illustrated Times*, 17 Oct 1857.
- (20) Quoted C.Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny* (1978)
- (21) Sir Lewis Butler, *Annals of the KRRC*, Vol.III (1926)
- (22) Published 1906. Though many officers acquired helmets at Delhi, there is scant evidence of them worn by soldiers.
- (23) Osprey MAA 52, *The Royal Green Jackets*, p.27.
- (24) On Sun. 10 May the 60th had paraded for church in whites. Capt. Muter recorded: 'Without any word of command the soldiers rushed towards their lines and came streaming out dressed in green and accoutréed'. (Quoted Mrs Muter, *My Recollections of the Sepoy Revolt* (1911)).
- (25) O.H.S.G.Anson, *With the 9th Lancers in the Indian Mutiny* (1896). The Carabiniers wore Light Dragoons' uniform with Heavy Cavalry brass helmets.
- (26) Troops, BHA: five European, one Indian. Batteries, BA: two European, one Indian.
- (27) See MAA193, Plate C2.
- (28) Quoted R.Perkins, *The Kashmir Gate* (1983).
- (29) Elastic-sided boots.
- (30) Presumably 1842 percussion muskets.
- (31) For further details of arms and equipment see MAA198.



# The Dress Uniform of the 7th Cavalry, 1872-82

JOHN P. LANGELLIER

With the conclusion of the Civil War, the US Army was quickly pared to a small fraction of its wartime strength. The one arm of the Regular Army which gained was the Cavalry, increased from its pre-war strength of six regiments to ten in September 1866. Even a parsimonious Congress recognised the importance of the mobile arm when faced by the prospect of war against the American Indian across a vast territory stretching between the Mississippi, the Rockies, and the Canadian and Mexican borders. The colourful record compiled by these thinly-stretched regiments during the decades which followed remains a source of fascination today, notwithstanding the deeper sympathy now generally felt for the peoples who can claim the title of Native Americans. The factual record is no less compelling than the romantic myth created by such masters as James Warner Bellah and John Ford; and no unit can claim greater fame, in myth or historical record, than the 7th United States Cavalry, led both to victory and disaster by their flamboyant Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer.

It is no part of this article's purpose to discuss the endless controversy which will always surround Custer's name. Careers have been built on the argument over whether he was a tragic hero traduced by lesser men, or an incompetent egomaniac. The fact remains that he was eager to distinguish himself and his regiment alike; and led it tirelessly on campaign whenever opportunity offered. He was also a stylish light horseman, who encouraged *esprit de corps* as much as marksmanship: the Troops who rode colour-matched mounts, and the musicians playing '*Gary Owen*' in the freezing dawn on the Washita, were all one with the 'boy general's' flowing locks and personally designed uniforms.

## ON CAMPAIGN

Formed at Fort Riley, Kansas, on 21 September 1866, the 7th Cavalry comprised between 800 and 900 men in

12 companies. Since two successive colonels were permanently detached to the Staff, Lt. Col. Custer had a free hand in his efforts to make the regiment the pride of the Cavalry. In summer 1867 he led them around the baking plains of Kansas and Nebraska during Maj. Gen. Hancock's vain operations following the Fetterman Massacre by Red Cloud's Oglalas. Controversy over Custer's exercise of command led to a court martial, and ten months away from his regiment.

He was reinstated in October 1868 by Maj. Gen. Sheridan, and trained the unit energetically until he led them out of Camp Supply, Oklahoma, on 23 November to take part in Sheridan's planned winter campaign of harassment against the villages of the Sioux and Cheyenne. On the 27th, in the snowy dawn, he led 800 men in the attack on the



lodges of Black Kettle's Cheyenne in the valley of the Washita River. The attack was a military success, though there is still argument about the proportion of grown men among the 100-odd dead. More controversial at the time were the circumstances surrounding the death of a party of troopers under Maj. Joel Elliott. The 7th remained in the field all that winter, and pressed many Plains Indians into accepting the reservations.

Stationed in the South on 'Reconstruction' duty from 1869 to 1873, Custer was glad to lead his men West again, riding out of Fort Rice with Col. Stanley's Yellowstone expedition on 10 June 1873. He fought two thoroughly creditable actions against large Sioux bands in August. The following summer the bulk of the 7th was the major unit of a survey column through the Black Hills of Dakota, which passed without resistance. The discovery of gold in territory sacred to the Sioux would lead, however, to escalating unrest in the area.

In May 1876 the entire 7th

Pte. Henry Klotbucker served as Capt. French's orderly; he was later killed at the Little Big Horn, 25 June 1876. This portrait photograph, in which the yellow uniform facings appear dark, shows the regulation 1872-1881 dress uniform; note helmet lines attached, carbine belt, sabre belt with 'eagle' buckle, and enlisted man's sabre. (John M. Carroll Collection)

Cavalry (32 officers and 718 enlisted men) was concentrated to form the bulk of Brig. Gen. Terry's column into the Dakotas, one of three forces converging against the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne. On the afternoon of 25 June 1876 Custer split his command and personally led Troops C, E, F, I and L in an attack on a huge Indian village in the valley of the Little Big Horn River. About an hour later he lay dead on the slope called the 'Greasy Grass', with 13 officers, 193 men and four civilians. In all, this greatest defeat at the hands of the American Indian cost the 7th Cavalry 263 killed and 59 wounded.

Although the 7th Cavalry experienced more than its share of field service in the ten years between its formation and the disaster at the Little

*Views of the enlisted men's dress helmet, 1872, from above left and right side; the plate, without regimental numeral; the interior, showing manufacturer's label, and leather wedges through the loops which attached the plate; and details of cord festoon and (originally japanned black) metal ventilator. The general views show to advantage the exaggerated size of the sloping front visor and the large rear 'cape', which contributed to its replacement in 1881, as well as the yellow worsted festoons and lines. (Unless otherwise credited, all photographs are from the Custer National Battlefield Historic Site, and were provided with the valued assistance of Gordon Chappell and R.G. Yeager.)*

Big Horn, the men of the regiment nevertheless spent most of their time in garrison, occupied with every kind of duty from stable cleaning to dress parades. In fact, they regularly appeared in the showy dress uniform which set the horse soldier apart from the other arms of the service.

#### ENLISTED RANKS' UNIFORM

##### The 1872 dress helmet

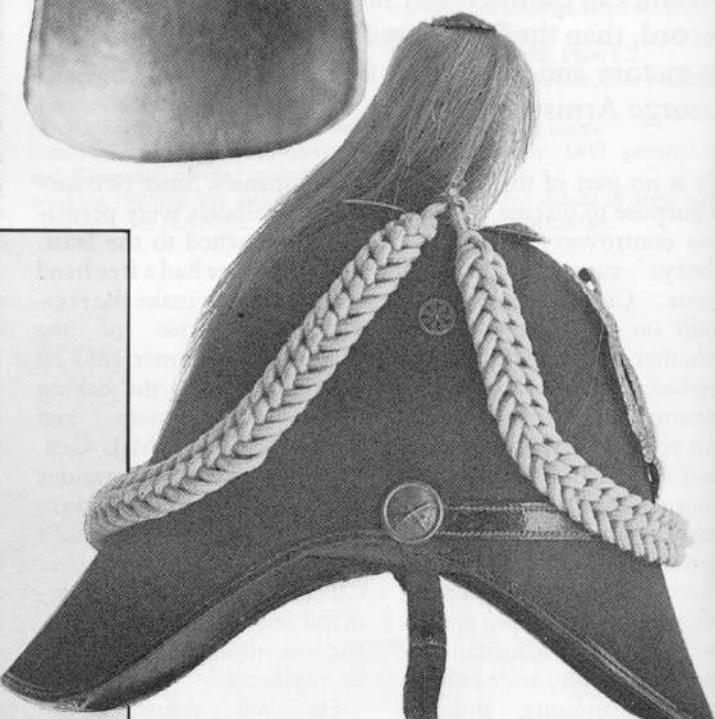
The often-overlooked dress uniform was dominated by a

distinctive headgear. Perhaps inspired to some degree both by the British heavy cavalry helmet, and by the growing Germanic military influence in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, the US Army adopted its own distinctive version of a style which dated back to classical antiquity<sup>(1)</sup>. The helmet was

adopted by General Orders No.76, Adjutant General's Office, 27 July 1872, and later modified slightly by GO No.92, AGO 26 October 1872.

Unlike the leather or metal European models upon which it was presumably based, the helmet was constructed of black felt with black leather edge binding. It had a long front visor and rear 'cape'; a long yellow horsehair plume mounted on a brass staff rising from a four-lobed base set saltire-wise on top of the crown; a pierced brass plate in the form of the national eagle and scroll; pierced ventilators on each side of the skull; two brass buttons holding a leather chinstrap, and a leather band across the front of the skull.

Other features not seen on European equivalents were the yellow mohair cords festooned across the front and back, and the breast cord or helmet lines. This latter



attached to the cords at the left side of the plume base, falling to the neck, where a slide held the two lines together. They then separated to the front and back of the neck, passing to the right shoulder strap and crossing, usually under the strap to help secure them in position. The lines then passed down the front and back of the right shoulder, uniting in another slide under the arm. The ends of the lines, terminating in two flounders and tassels, were carried up across the breast, and some individuals attached them to one of the coat's breast buttons. Later regulations called for the lines to be fixed to the button of the left shoulder strap.

While a practical safeguard against losing the helmet while mounted, the lines presented a problem in that they were made in one piece with the triple-plaited cord festoons, and were thus permanently attached to the helmet, which could not be removed without extricating oneself from the complex arrangement of lines. Some enlisted men solved the problem by cutting the lines near their junction with the cords, and fitting a temporary attachment such as a hook-and-eye, which could be hidden by the tassel at the top of the lines. The inspiration for this convenient misdemeanour was, no doubt, the fact that officers' helmets were furnished in this more functional manner.

#### The 1872 dress coat

While the helmet was the most distinctive item of cavalry dress uniform in the period 1872-81, the coat also added a certain colour and dash. Patterned to some extent after the French infantry *habit* of 1860, this was a dark blue single-breasted woollen basque, piped in pale yellow down the front and around the bottom of the skirt<sup>(2)</sup>. The hooked stand collar was piped at top and bottom, and bore 4in.-long pale yellow patches on the fronts, bearing brass regimental numerals. The shoulderstraps also were of pale yellow facing mater-



Front and rear of the 1872 dress coat of Sgt. William C. Williams, 7th Cavalry, who received his rank after surviving the Little Big Horn disaster. This basic pattern remained in use until 1885 with few changes.

#### Below:

Details of Sgt. Williams' coat. The replacement of the cuff patch buttons with officer's buttons bearing a central 'C' for cavalry was a typical NCO's affectation. One collar numeral is missing from the Williams coat; note that some sources show the numerals more centrally placed on the patches. The chevrons are non-regulation, being 'custom-made' from facing cloth and individually applied in the pre-1872 style.

were divided by black chain-stitching rather than being sewn on as individual lace chevrons. Chevrons were applied point downwards. Two identified a corporal, three a sergeant, three below an open diamond a first sergeant; three chevrons with three straight tie-bars joining the top points identified a regimental quartermaster sergeant, and three with three curved arcs, a sergeant major. In 1873 regulations called for the addition of three chevrons

below a saddler's knife for a saddler sergeant, and in 1874 farriers received a horseshoe device. Pioneers wore crossed hatchets.

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Facing material also replaced worsted lace for leg stripes; the width of sergeant's stripes was reduced from 1½ins. to 1in., corporals wore ½in. stripes, and privates none<sup>(3)</sup>. The 'sky blue' trousers themselves were originally Civil War surplus, although a new pat-

tern was prescribed in 1872; these were to have a 3½in. waistband fastening at the front with two buttons, and top-opening pockets in the front. They were reinforced with 'saddling' of the same material. In fact, old Civil War style trousers remained the standard until 1876, when a distinctive new pattern was approved<sup>(4)</sup>.

The trooper initially continued to employ the same leather accoutrements as in the 1860s. By the mid-1870s, however, a new sabre belt with a rectangular brass plate bearing a block 'US' design in a central oval was gradually replacing the 1851 'eagle' plate, although the old-model buckle remained popular for many years. New cartridge boxes, such as the Dyer and later, the McKeever also came into use. Weapons, too, were in a state of flux. The 1859 enlisted man's sabre continued unaltered; but the various carbines distributed during and after the Civil War gave way to a standardised .45-70 calibre breech-loading Springfield 'trapdoor', Model 1873, and the assortment of handguns in use was limited

to the 1873 Colt Single Action Army and the Schofield Smith & Wesson, both in .45 calibre. The 7th Cavalry, issued upon its formation in 1866 with the Spencer carbine and Remington Army revolver, received the Springfield and Colt as soon as they were available. The revolver formed no part of the dress uniform; the carbine was carried attached by a spring swivel hook to a broad leather belt worn from left shoulder to right hip, and the sabre by two slings from the waistbelt. White beret gloves and plain brass spurs with small rowels completed the uniform.

## OFFICERS' UNIFORM

### The helmet

Basically similar to that of the rank and file, the officers' helmet had all metal fittings in gilt or gold-washed finish. The cords and lines were in gold wire rather than yellow wool worsted, and – as mentioned above – the lines could be detached to allow removal of the helmet. The leather band running across the front of the skull between the chin-



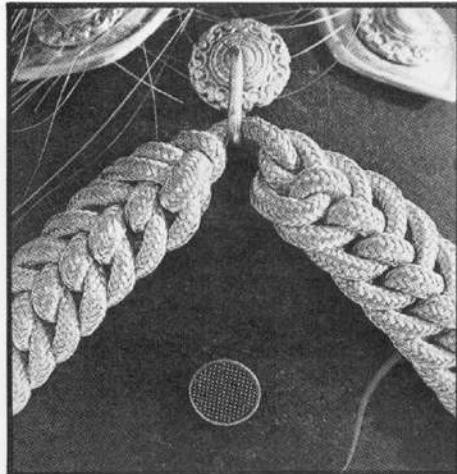
*George A. Custer's brother Tom, who died with him at the Little Big Horn as a captain in the 7th, displays the company officers' dress uniform. Note method of wearing the helmet lines, detached; company officers' dress belt, with three yellow stripes; two gold cuff laces; and two Medals of Honor, which Tom Custer won during the Civil War.*



strap buttons was of a special design, usually picked out with yellow thread. The chinstrap itself differed from the enlisted version, as did the hook arrangement which held the cords. A silver regimental numeral was mounted on the shield of the national eagle device on the front of the helmet. The ventilators were commonly of screen mesh, rather than the 'pinwheel' designs often found on the rankers' headgear. Finally, the positioning of the cross-pieces of the plume staff base sometimes deviated from the normal assembly of enlisted helmets, being set on pointing to front, rear, and each side rather than saltire-wise.

#### The coat

The officer's coat distinguished him at a glance from the enlisted man. It was a sombre, dark blue, double-breasted frock devoid of all facings. A 'stand-up collar, not less than one nor more than two inches in height' hooked together at the bottom; it was cut away at an angle of 30° and had rounded corners. Subalterns had seven large eagle buttons in each



*Vent, festoon and hook detail from the dress helmet of 1st Lt. William W. Cooke, a Canadian who served as regimental adjutant of the 7th, and who died at the Little Big Horn. Compare ventilator detail with that of the enlisted man's helmet.*

row, field officers nine. Three small buttons were worn on the rear seam – sometimes split – of the 3in.-deep cuffs. On the outside face the cuffs bore two (company officers) or three (field officers) double stripes of gold braid ending in points at the top, with a small button mounted just below the point of each.



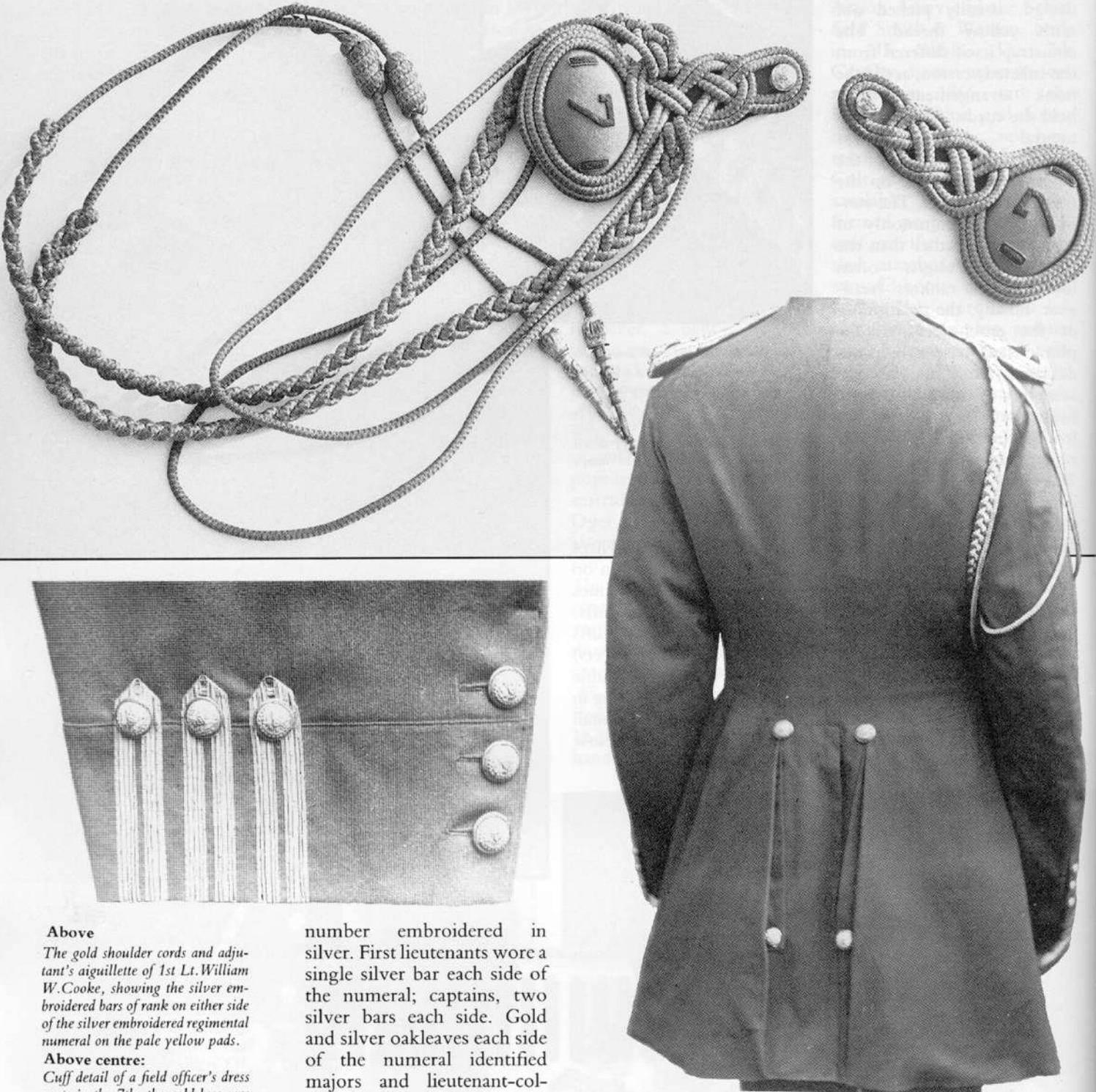
#### Above:

*Lt. H.G. Squiers, 7th Cavalry, photographed no earlier than 1880, since from that date the gold cuff laces were no longer prescribed. Note that the plume base of his helmet is set on 'fore and aft' rather than saltire-wise. (Mrs. H.H. Rousseau Colln., courtesy of John M. Carroll)*



#### Left:

*The individuality of some of the 7th's officers is evident in this group photographed on the porch of the Custers' quarters in 1874. Some officers of the regiment, as well as their infantry guests, have replaced dress headgear with forage caps; pillbox caps (e.g. Capt. T.M. McDougall, seventh from left); or fur caps (e.g. Capt. G.W. Yates, seated centre on bottom step) – these last two caps being non-regulation. Tom Custer sits at right rear, in front of the officer leaning on the porch rail. George A. Custer, third from left, is bare-headed.*



**Above**

*The gold shoulder cords and adjutant's aiguillette of 1st Lt. William W. Cooke, showing the silver embroidered bars of rank on either side of the silver embroidered regimental numeral on the pale yellow pads.*

**Above centre:**

*Cuff detail of a field officer's dress coat; in the 7th, the gold lace was sometimes broader than regulation. (National Archives)*

**Right:**

*Rear view of 1872 officers' dress coat, showing the four large gilt 'eagle' buttons, of the same type as worn on the chest, and the split skirt, convenient for mounted wear. This example is fitted with the aiguillettes authorised for adjutants of line regiments, and various aides and staff officers. (National Archives)*

Exact rank was identified by gold shoulder knots. The cavalry-yellow pad at the end of each bore, for second lieutenants, the regimental

number embroidered in silver. First lieutenants wore a single silver bar each side of the numeral; captains, two silver bars each side. Gold and silver oakleaves each side of the numeral identified majors and lieutenant-colonels respectively; the colonel's knots bore a single large spread eagle with the numeral, both in silver. The regimental adjutant was further distinguished by a gold aiguillette attached to the right hand shoulder cord.

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Dress sabre belts also provided a distinction between company and field grades. Field officers wore a black belt with a single broad facing band of gold lace, and sabre slings of the same design. Company officers' belts had

three lines of yellow silk interwoven with the gold, and their slings had a single yellow silk centre stripe. The officers' buckle was the rectangular 'eagle' type with appliquéd silver wreath - there were a range of slight variations depending upon the manufacturer and the officer's pocket.

Officers, of course, had to purchase all articles of clothing and accessories, rather than obtaining them on issue from the Quartermaster

Department; and personal preference played its part. Footwear varied considerably; Custer was known to spend handsome sums on his custom-made boots, and no doubt many supporters of their flamboyant lieutenant-colonel followed suit. Spurs and sabres could also vary in quality and degree of ornate decoration; and some officers opted to buy gauntlets of various patterns in place of the

*continued on page 26*



Above:

1872 dress coat of a chief trumpeter, with the chevrons, arc and bugle introduced in 1873, and the 'herringbone' chest lacing worn by all trumpeters. This coat lacks a regimental numeral on the collar patch. (Smithsonian Institution)

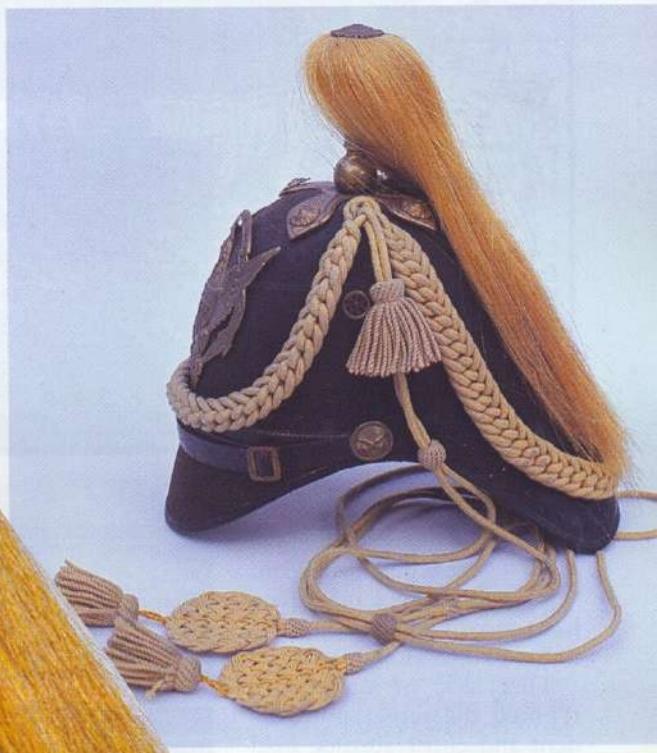
Right:

Lt. Col. George A. Custer's dress helmet is a prime example of the 1872-1881 pattern officers' dress headgear. Note extra long plume; cord and tassel; details of chinstrap and front leather band; and silver appliquéd regimental numeral on gilt plate. (Smithsonian Institution)



Above:

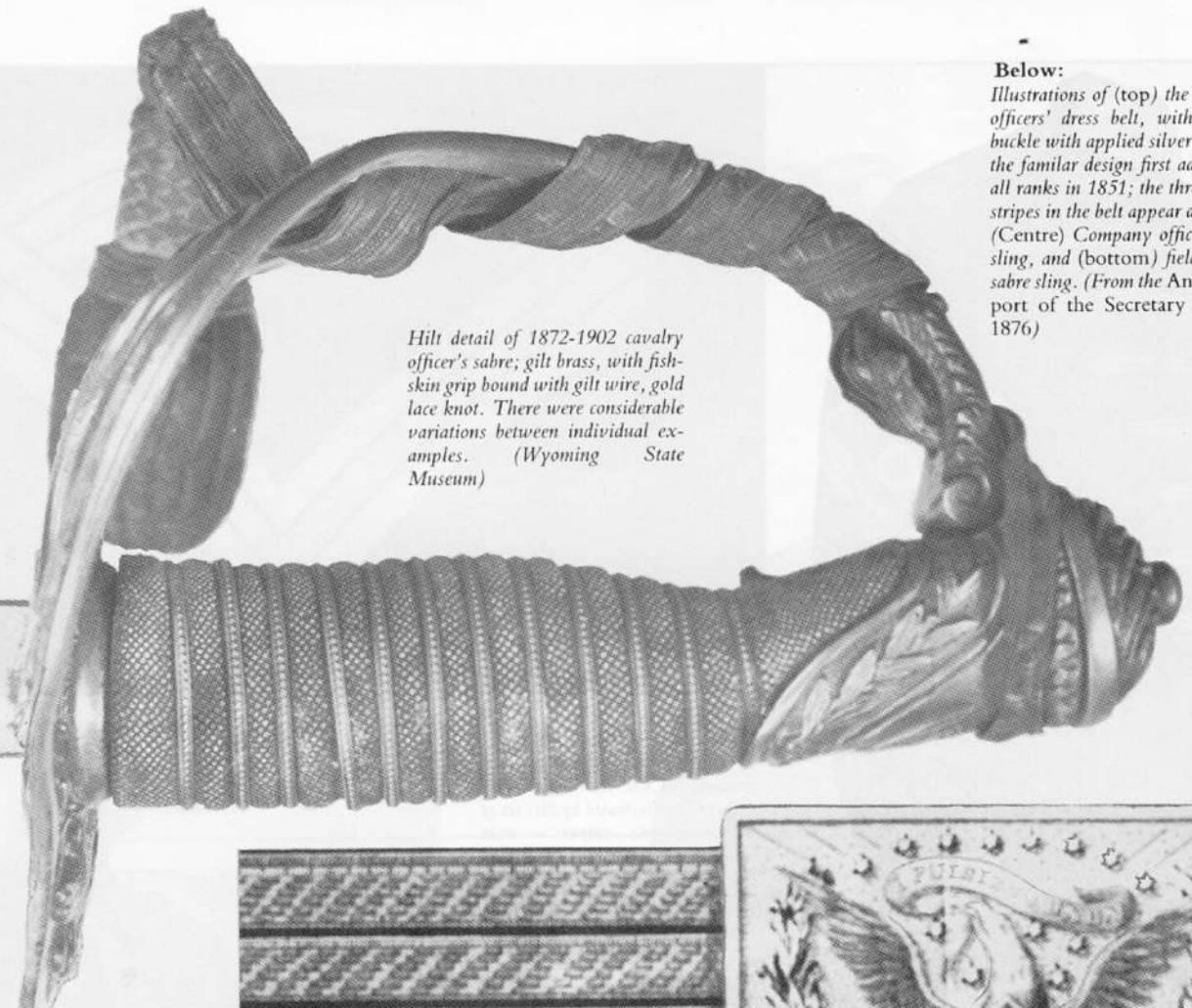
The chain-stitch method of constructing NCOs' chevrons, dating from 1872, illustrated by this set of sergeant-major's stripes — note black silk thread divisions. (M.L. Woodcock Collection)



Above:

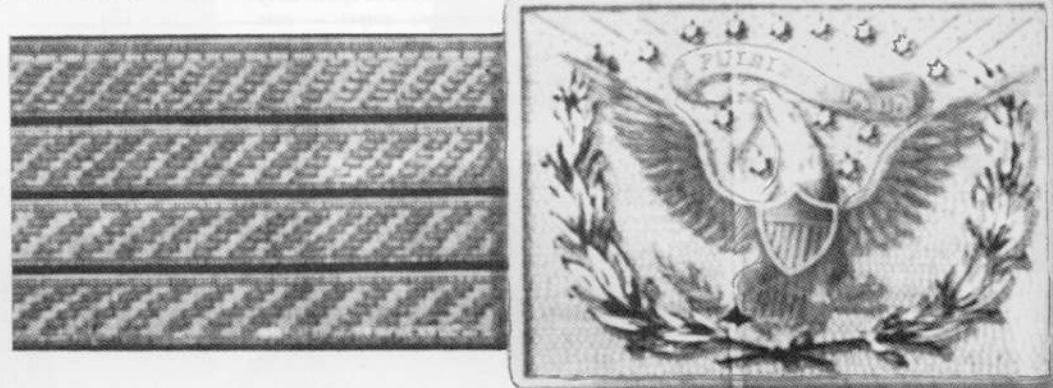
Compare this example of the enlisted man's dress helmet, complete with lines.





Hilt detail of 1872-1902 cavalry officer's sabre; gilt brass, with fish-skin grip bound with gilt wire, gold lace knot. There were considerable variations between individual examples. (Wyoming State Museum)

**Below:**  
Illustrations of (top) the company officers' dress belt, with the gilt buckle with applied silver wreath – the familiar design first adopted for all ranks in 1851; the three yellow stripes in the belt appear dark here. (Centre) Company officers' sabre sling, and (bottom) field officers' sabre sling. (From the Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1876)



white berlin dress gloves. Although trousers were always of the regulation sky blue colour, no two officers appeared in identically tailored pairs, as wealth and fashionability governed the details. The regulation 1½in. yellow leg stripes may even have grown broader in some individual cases.

This lack of uniformity typified the rather independent and élitist attitude held by many of the officers of the regiment, although such practices were far from peculiar to the 7th. Deviations from the regulations went beyond the difference to be found among the products of various purveyors of officers' uniform items. Photographs show a certain degree of latitude, especially in the area of substituting other headgear for the uncomfortable dress helmet. **MJ**

#### Notes:

(1) For more information on the dress helmet, see Gordon Chappell, *Brass Spikes and Horsehair Plumes* (Arizona Historical Society; Tucson, 1966).

(2) Ten thousand *chasseur à pied* uniforms were in fact ordered from France by the Union in 1861; and during the following year a US Army uniform board recommended adoption of the style, but the suggestion was put aside for another decade – see Frederick P. Todd, *American Military Equipment 1851-1872* (The Company of Military Historians; Providence, RI, 1974), Vol. 1, pp. 46 & 53. In fact, the 1872 coat more closely resembled the French Line Infantry model than the slightly different *chasseur* coat.  
 (3) At that time musicians were not to wear trouser stripes, although there seems to have been some confusion about the point since the

Quartermaster Depot gave instructions not to provide these items. Capt. Bingham to Lt. Quinly, 2 February 1874, Entry 1009 Letters Sent, Clothing & Equipment Branch; Book A, 1874, Record Group 92, QM Correspondence, National Archives.

(4) A shortage of funds delayed issue of the new uniform. Trousers were not made according to the new 1872 prescriptions at all, since the Secretary of War had decided that the increased cost of manufacturing that style (\$35,100 p.a. for foot trousers and \$20,475 p.a. for mounted trousers) was prohibitive. Consequently, old designs with side pockets remained in use. See

Capt. Bingham's endorsements to the Adjutant General and Inspector General, 2 January 1874, reference as note (3) above; and Capt. Bingham to Capt. Morse, 3 January 1874, *ibid.* By 1876 another uniform board called for an improved trouser pattern with 'frog-mouthed' pockets, watch-pockets, strap and buckle at the back, a slight spring at the foot, and no waistband.' Manufacture of this design began in 1876; as did that of a slightly modified dress coat for enlisted men which now had waists ¾in. to ½in. longer than the previous issue. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1876* (US Government Printing Office; Washington DC, 1876), pp. 204-205.

# Covenanters: Scots Infantry in the 1640s

STUART REID

'Vpon Frydday, 16th of Februar Captane Strathauchin marchit out of Abirdene with sex scoir ten soldiouris, capitanes, and commanderis, furneshit out be the said brughe vpone their owne charges and expensis. Ilk soldiour wes furneshit with tua sarkis, cot, breikis, hoiss and bonet, bandis, and schone; ane suord, ane mvscat, pulder and ball, for so mony ; and vtheris sum ane suord, and ane pik, according to the ordour ; and ilk soldiour to have sex schillinges ilk day, during the space of 40 dayes, of loan silver. Ilk tuelff of thame had ane baggage horss worth fyftie pundis, ane stovp, ane pan, ane pot, for their meat and drink, togidder also with thair hyre or levie or loan money, ilk soldiour estimat to ten dollaris, and in furnishing and all to 100 merkis.'<sup>(1)</sup>

The soldiers belonging to Captain John Strachan's company of the Earl Marischal's Regiment whose departure was thus chronicled were members of what was, before the advent of the English New Model Army, the best organised and equipped force involved in the English Civil War. It is the purpose of this article to enlarge upon this, probably the single most comprehensive description of the ordinary foot soldier in the Scots army, and to do so with particular regard to those regiments, such as the Earl Marischal's, raised in the north-east of Scotland.

## RECRUITMENT

The Scots infantrymen were all of them at this time 'Fencibles', that is men aged between 16<sup>\*</sup> and 60 capable of bearing 'arms defencible'; and they were recruited not by beat of drum, but by a form of conscription. Raising the army technically began on 18 August 1643 when the government issued a proclamation ordering a general muster of all those liable for service within 48 hours of publication – it was not actually published in Aberdeen until 2 September. This was in accordance with long-established Scots law, which

placed an obligation upon all barons, freeholders, their retainers and tenants, and the inhabitants of Royal Burghs to undertake 40 days' military service at their own expense as a condition of their tenure. It was in effect a feudal levy, but with the vital difference that at the end of the 40 days they were not automatically free to return home but could be retained in service at the government's expense.

The initial series of musters or *wapinschaws* (literally, weapon-showings) was carried out at parish or burgh level, and in the north-east at least was conducted by the local ministers. All that happened at this stage was that a list was drawn up of all those resident within the parish or burgh who were fit to serve. In the meantime the government had at the beginning of September set down the number of regiments to be raised, generally organised by Sheriffdoms; and in October the Committee of War appointed in each shire sat down to assess the size of the contribution they could make to these regiments. It was at this stage that some trouble arose in Aberdeenshire.

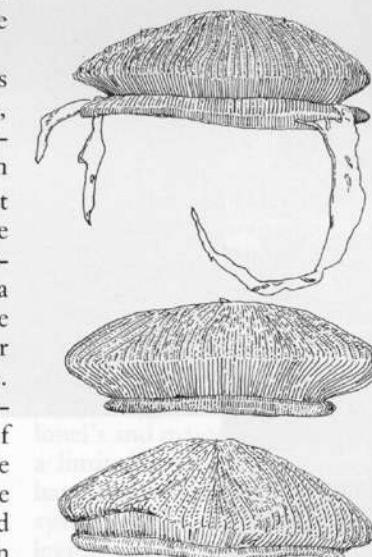
As was normal for a general levy of this nature, every fourth and eighth man



Scots musketeer: detail from G. Kölner, 1631. This detail from one of the Kölner prints exhibits a number of interesting features. Note the size of the bonnet, and the wings on the doublet (the lack of a front opening would appear to be a careless error). The soldier's nether garments are less easy to interpret, but are most probably trews tied with a band or garter below the knee. The weapon slung by his side is probably a badly drawn dirk, but is possibly a whinger or curved hanger – a popular weapon in Scotland. Oddly enough no bandoliers or powder flasks are shown, but there would appear to be a bag slung on the strap across his chest.

## Left:

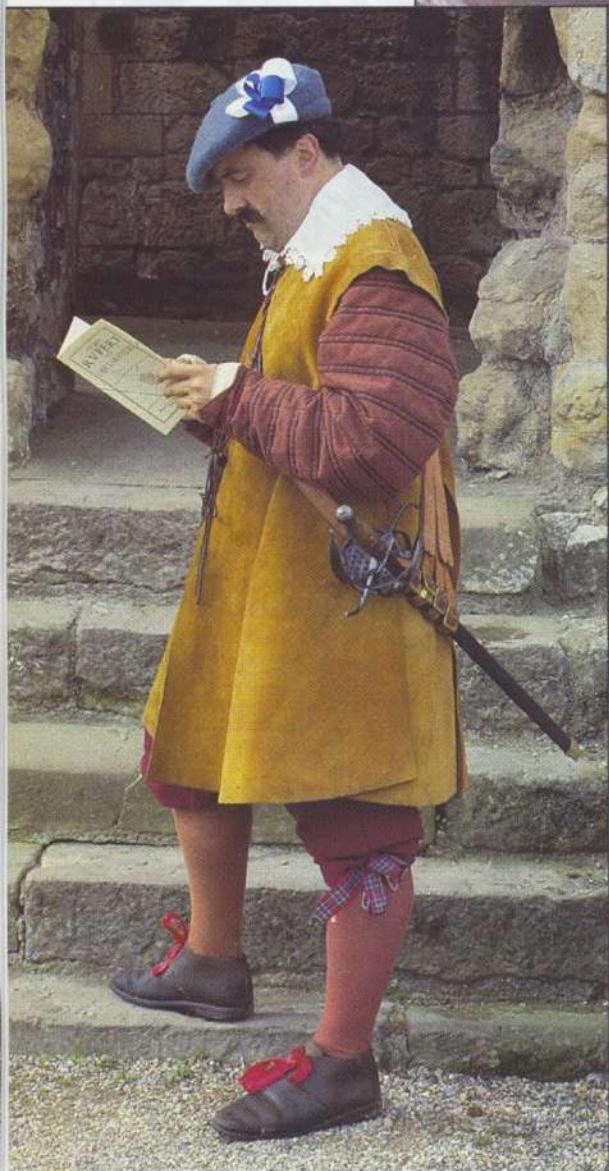
Surviving examples of 17th century knitted bonnets. (Top) Early 17th century bonnet from Dava Moor near Cromdale in Morayshire. The brim and tapes for tying it on to the head are most unusual. (Centre) Bonnet found at Tarvie in Ross-shire; its similarity to those depicted by Kölner and other contemporary artists is very marked. (Bottom) late 17th century bonnet from Quinfall Hill. The obvious shrinkage of the crown appears to have been deliberate, and reflects an alteration in style to the much smaller bonnets favoured in the 18th century.



adjudged suitable was ordered to be 'put out'; but a dispute immediately arose over who was to have these recruits. It had at first been intended that Aberdeenshire should produce one complete regiment to be led by Lord Forbes, and supply large contingents to Lord Gordon's

**Below:**

Sir Alexander Fraser's Firelocks, Preston, 1648. Identified as a member of Fraser's Regiment by the blue and white silk ribbons in his bonnet, and as a company officer by his wearing shoes rather than riding boots, this professional soldier wears that most indispensable item of the 17th century military wardrobe - the buff-coat. In 1639 Spalding noted that all the officers and sergeants wore buff-coats. This one is cut to a pattern of 1640, and has 'stuff' rather than leather sleeves. Stuff was fabric of any sort, in this case canvas overlaid with red wool. Unlike the heavyweight buff-coats worn by cavalrymen, those worn by infantry officers were somewhat thinner, and rather than an armour substitute were basically weatherproof campaign coats. The sword is a Pappenheimer variant, hilt type 84 by A.V.B. Norman's classification. Popular in both the Swedish and Dutch army, it and the baldric (together with a similar buff-coat) may be seen in a painting *Soldiers Arming* by Jacob Duck (H. Schickman Gallery, New York). The tartan bands at the knees are taken from a portrait of Argyle's father.



**Right:**

Musketeer, Earl Marischal's Regiment, 1644. The same musketeer, now in marching order, with his plaid pulled about him. This photograph illustrates all too clearly the difficulties foreign artists experienced in trying to depict tartan, yet the sett of this plaid is a relatively simple one. We should not be too critical, therefore, of the efforts made to draw highlanders in the 18th century.



**Right:**

Musketeer, John Forbes of Leslie's Regiment, Dunbar, 1650. This musketeer, identified as a member of Forbes' Regiment by the green and yellow ribbons in his bonnet, is a reconstruction very largely based upon Kölner's 1631 drawing of a Scots mercenary in Stettin. By 1650 it would appear that only coats were being issued to soldiers, hence his wearing tartan trews of civilian origin. The satchel on a thin leather strap is also taken from Kölner's sketch, and presumably contained powder-horn, slow-match and bullets. The matchlock musket is of Dutch design (over

15,000 Dutch muskets were imported by the Scots during the First Civil War alone), while the hodden grey coat is again cut to the Quintfall Hill pattern.

**Below:**

Soldier's equipment. Reproductions of a selection of the ancillary equipment issued to Scots infantrymen during the Civil War: cast iron cooking pot, staved wooden stoup, treen plates and bowls, horn spoons, a quaich or drinking cup, and a leather snapsack. The latter was not apparently issued to Scot soldiers, but was in common use during the Civil War.



**Left centre:**

Musketeer, Earl Marischal's Regiment, 1644. Reconstruction based upon John Spalding's description quoted at the beginning of this article, supplemented by information from the ordnance papers. The hodden grey coat, fastened with cloth buttons, is cut to a pattern taken from the Quintfall Hill coat – see monochrome illustrations – while the breeches are copied from a contemporary sketch. The stockings are held up with bands, here hidden by the cuffs of the breeches. The sword is probably of Dutch manufacture and has a hilt of type 10 (A.V.B. Norman's classification). The red-coloured bandoliers match the regiment's red colours; and just visible on the left side of the bonnet is a bunch of red and white ribbons serving as a rudimentary regimental badge. (All photographs by Ann Reid)

Regiment which was also to be recruited in Banffshire, and to the Earl Marischal's Regiment, principally raised in the Mearns. However, the Earl Marischal took advantage of Lord Forbes' absence in Edinburgh to persuade the Aberdeenshire committee to

have him excluded – largely, it would seem, as a result of a similar dispute over recruiting areas in 1640. Lord Gordon, whose family was traditionally in a state of feud with the Forbes, supported this move; but neither he nor the Earl Marischal could then agree as to how Aberdeenshire should be divided between them.

The wrangling thus begun was to continue for over a year, but the immediate result was that only two regiments were raised instead of the three called for by the government; and both were initially badly understrength, since in order to reach the rendezvous on the borders in time they had to march without their Aberdeenshire contingents. Some accommodation was at length reached between the two colonels; but it was not until the middle of February 1644 that the first Aberdeenshire companies set off, and not until June

that the last of them were raised and despatched southwards.

Ironically, neither Gordon nor the Marischal ever served with their regiments, but this was far from unusual in the early 1640s. In nearly every case the procedure adopted in 1639 and 1640 had been followed, and the local magnates appointed to command regiments were well seconded by professional soldiers filling the lieutenant-colonel's and major's places. To a limited extent it may also have been intended that this system (again, as in previous levies) should prevail within the ten 120-man companies, with the captaincies going to the lairds and the lieutenant's places to professionals; but in practice most junior officers were local men. (Conversely, the captains were frequently professional soldiers; and the Earl Marischal's Regiment had two company commanders in 1646 who had ear-

lier served in Lord Eythin's English Royalist regiment<sup>(2)</sup>.)

After the 1643 levy even the practice of appointing professional field officers seems to have fallen into abeyance – with some notable exceptions – and generally speaking local men staffed regiments at every level. When the Earl Marischal's Regiment was re-constituted in 1648 command was given to his brother, Colonel George Keith; and, unlike the Marischal, he actually led it in the field. On the whole most colonels of foot after 1646 were local lairds such as Forbes of Leslie and Gordon of Rothiemay, who were prepared not only to raise regiments but to lead them as well.

## CLOTHING

Although extremely comprehensive, John Spalding's description of the Aberdeenshire fencibles quoted at the beginning of this article requires



some elaboration. With the exception of a handful of red-coated regiments, clothed from English stocks, all Scots soldiers wore suits of 'hodden grey' cloth, an indeterminate shade of wool very common in Scotland at this time. In 1640, for example, Spalding recorded the despatch to the army of 'ane stand of gray clothes, tua sarkis, tua pair of schois'<sup>(3)</sup> to each soldier. Although no sealed patterns have survived, if indeed they ever existed, the available evidence suggests that apart from their bonnets and plaids

there was no real difference in appearance between the clothing worn by Scots and English soldiers; and consequently a convincing reconstruction can be built up by supplementing Scots with English documentation.

Clothes ordered for English soldiers serving in Connaught in 1646 were to be made up at the rate of 2½ yards of woollen cloth for each man, together with a quantity of canvas for linings and pockets. This is quite ample for a pair of knee breeches and the 'foure-tailed

coate' mentioned in a 1651 petition from Fife; but it would appear that in the Scots army at least an additional woollen lining was worn as a separate garment rather than being stitched into the coat. Surviving documents also indicate that such additional linings did not always form part of the soldier's initial issue of clothing, but were distributed later with the onset of bad weather. In February and March 1645, for instance, some men from Colonel William Stewart's and the Earl of Cassillis's Regiments received money in lieu of their half-yards of lining material; and a cargo of 'French linings' was consigned to Aberdeen in October 1646.

The latter may have been made from cotton denim, but kersey seems to have been normal. Kersey is a slightly lighter weight of wool than broadcloth, and was purchased in some quantity by the Scots army while in England, together with Yorkshire broadcloth. The relative proportions of the materials bought indicates the use to which the kersey was to be put. At a half-yard of material per soldier, these separate linings must have been sleeveless. Coats ordered for the English New Model Army were specified to be 'three quarters and a nail' long, i.e. 29¼ inches. Since this is exactly half a width of broadcloth, it may reasonably be expected that this was a pretty universal specification,

and as a general guide it has been remarked that this is about the length of a service dress tunic. Buttons are not mentioned in any of the accounts, but were almost certainly made by the soldiers themselves from twists of cloth. Such cloth buttons were certainly universally used in Scotland at this time, and archaeological evidence also suggests that most men carried about with them the means to make them in the form of small sewing kits in their pockets<sup>(4)</sup>.

Shirts were normally made of 'harden', a very coarse form of linen. Just how coarse it was may be gauged by the fact that in 1640 Major-General Monroe ordered the Burgh of Aberdeen to provide 3,000 ells of harden (a Scots ell is 37in.) to make tents for his men; but before the material could be delivered the weather must have improved, for he changed his mind and had the harden made up into shirts.

Stockings would in most cases have been cut from woollen cloth, for which purpose kersey was again popular, but since knitted stockings became a staple export from Aberdeen in the 1640s it is reasonable to suppose that knitted stockings were worn by men in the Aberdeenshire units. The 'bands' referred to in Spalding's account were not large cape-like collars but garters.

The low shoes worn by the Scots, and indeed all foot sol-



#### Below left:

*The Laird of Warreston (sic), from 'The Knavery of the Rump', a set of playing cards which, although dating from 1679, illustrate certain characteristic features of Scottish dress clearly. Although in most respects conventionally dressed, Johnston of Wariston is here clearly identified as a Scot by his bonnet, cocked up on the left, with a prominent bunch of ribbons; and by the plaid draped over his shoulders. Given the artist's obvious intention to depict a Scotsman, the conventional sword is interesting: evidently the basket-hilted broadsword was not yet indelibly associated with Scotsmen.*

#### Centre:

*Argyle, from the same playing cards. The plaids are even more prominently depicted; note, however, that here the bonnets are cocked up on the right. Argyle has the same type of sword as Wariston; both appear over-large for conventional smallswords, and they may in fact represent a Scottish style.*

#### Right:

*A Covenanting Scot. The detail here is not as good as on the other cards, but note the alternative manner of wearing the plaid, which frequently appears in portraits. The artist has draped it over the wrong shoulder, however: as worn it would be impossible for him to hold his sword in the manner shown.*



#### Above:

*17th century clothing from Quintfall Hill. This suit of clothing was taken from a body found in a peat bog in 1921. Although dated by coin evidence to the 1690s, the actual garments themselves were very much older, as is attested by their worn and ragged condition and, more crucially, by the stand-up collar on the coat, a feature which went out of fashion in the 1650s. The material is now a sandy brown colour, although this is probably the result of peat staining. Both garments are unlined, and all buttons are made of twists of cloth.*



*Laird of Warreston an arrant Knaue Au my Saul man.*



*Argyle a muckle Scotch Knaue in gude faith Sir.*



*A Covenanting Scot & an English Ir dependent differ about y things of this world.*



diers at this time tended to be rather light by modern standards. Those made in Aberdeen in 1640 for the Master of Forbes' Regiment were specified to be single-soled, although the London-made shoes supplied to the Scots army besieging Newark in 1646 (which included the Earl Marischal's Regiment) will have been double-soled. Some attempt was made to ensure a reasonable fit by making available differing sizes of shoes. A 1640 requisition laid on Aberdeen called for the shoes to be made of '10 and 11 insche at the least', which was very much in line with contemporary English contracts and corresponds to modern British shoe sizes 7 and 8. The Aberdeen requisitions also specify that grey hides were to be used, producing black rather than tan shoes<sup>(5)</sup>.

The famous blue Scots bonnet, or 'Scotch blew capp' as it is frequently referred to in English documents, was fairly universally worn by both officers and men; indeed, the officers of General Monro's Regiment, having been made Freemen of Aber-

deen, were said to have marched out of the burgh with their burgess tickets stuck in their bonnets. The bonnets were normally knitted and felted – rather in the manner of the Monmouth Cap – although some cheaper examples are found cut from woollen cloth. The issue of bonnets to at least one company of the Earl Marischal's Regiment in 1644, as recorded by Spalding, appears to be most unusual, if not unique: normally the soldier would presumably have worn their own bonnets.

On the left (or very occasionally on the right) side of the bonnet was a bunch of coloured ribbons, the precursor of the cockade. This feature appears quite prominently in many contemporary illustrations, and originated as a convenient means of displaying the livery colours of a man's chief or master. From there it was but a short step to displaying on soldiers' bonnets the tinctures of the colours borne by their regiments. On 8 January 1644 Sir Thomas Hope noted in his diary: 'This day gevin to the soiuors of craighall, quho

goes under Captain Moffat, ilk of them thair collars of blew and zellow silk ribbons'<sup>(6)</sup>. Thomas Moffat was Major to the Earl of Lindsay's Regiment, and yellow seems to have been a popular hue for the colours of regiments raised in Fife. This one evidently bore blue saltires. The Earl Marischal's Regiment, commanded in 1648 by Colonel George Keith, had red colours with white saltires, and the soldiers presumably wore red and white ribbons in their bonnets; while Colonel John Forbes of Leslie's Regiment, raised in 1650, had green colours with yellow saltires. These latter appear to have been inherited from the regiment which Lord Forbes finally managed to raise in the summer of 1644<sup>(7)</sup>.

Like the bonnet, the plaid was a characteristic feature of the Scots soldier's attire, although, with the exception of some of the Earl Marischal's men garrisoning Dunottar Castle in 1651, there are no records of plaids being issued. The various references to soldiers sleeping in their plaids must therefore relate to a motley collection

'The Scots holding their young kinges nose to ye grinstone' a satirical print of 1650. 'Jockie' seems to represent an infantry officer and, apart from the distinctive blue bonnet, serves as an excellent illustration to a mercer's bill presented to Capt. George Keith of the Earl Marischal's Regt. in 1644:

2 ells mixt Spanish cloth at	
25s ye ell .....	02 10 00
11 drop off silk (thread) .	00 01 10
2 Demibeaver hatts and two	
bands.....	02 04 00
4 dison of silk buttons....	00 01 00
13 drop more silk.....	00 02 02
1 pr pearle cullor silk	
stockings.....	01 10 00
1 pr buckskin gloves .....	00 10 00
9 yards siluer and silk ribbon	
at 2s ye yard .....	00 18 00
6 yards of changing satin ribbon	
at 10d ye ell.....	00 05 00
4 ells of scarlit cloth at	
20/ ye ell .....	04 00 00
4 disane and ane half of gold	
and silver long-taile buttons	
at 14/ ye dosan is.....	03 03 00
Suma is fystein punds fyve shillings	
shillings ster.....	15 05 00'

The scarlet material will have been used to make up a coat or cassock of the style shown, or perhaps an earlier style with buttoned sleeves. No lining materials are mentioned so presumably linen was used. The 'mixt Spanish' cloth will have been a very stout tweedy material used for breeches.

of privately owned ones. Such plaids were not necessarily the voluminous articles associated with highlanders, but were generally of more modest dimensions. One excavated from Quintfall Hill in Caithness measured only 8ft. 6in. by 5ft., which is broadly in line with some sizes quoted in contemporary commercial documents. There is no question, of course, of 'clan' tartans being employed; dull colours were normal, sometimes shot through with a brightly coloured overstripe. The plaid served as a cloak by day and bedding by night, and was generally agreed to be inseparable from its owner. One English traveller commented in astonishment that he had even seen men wearing them while ploughing, so it is entirely possible that they were even worn in action. Practical experiment has shown that if bundled up tightly a plaid will not prove a great encumbrance or unduly hinder the loading of a musket.

This detail from the cover illustration of a pamphlet detailing the sacrifices made by the Edinburgh merchant William Dick of Braid provides a useful reminder that not all Scots soldiers wore bonnets. Those depicted here are presumably members of the Edinburgh Trained Bands, who were described thus by Spalding at the Scottish coronation of King Charles I in 1633: 'A brave companie of tounes soldiouris, all cled in white satein doubletis, blak veluet breikis, and silk stockings, with hats, fedderis, scarfis, bandis, and the rest correspondent. Thir gallantis had dayntie moscatis, pikis and gilded partisans and such like.'

## ARMS AND EQUIPMENT

The arming of the Scots infantry was normally straightforward, and, with the exception of the small halberdier companies ordered to be formed in each regiment in 1647, no armour of any description was worn. (For that matter, recent research is uncovering precious little evidence that English soldiers were wearing armour at this time either.)

All soldiers carried swords or *whingers*, generally either cheap straight-bladed Dutch imports of dubious quality, or curved hangers with bird-head grips of native manufacture. The primary weapons, however, were long pikes and matchlock muskets. The 1644 Aberdeen levies for the Earl Marischal's and Lord Gordon's Regiments had the two musketeers for every pikeman prescribed in the mustering instructions, but not all units may have been so well equipped. A muster of the Earl of Tullibardine's Regiment at Newark in 1646 revealed only three musketeers to two pikemen<sup>(8)</sup>. No information is available on the equipment of Lord Forbes' Regiment; but given the circumstances under which it was eventually raised, it is possible that it was even less well-armed, and that many of the substitute weapons declared to be acceptable in the mustering instructions, such as Lochaber axes, were used to supplement the available muskets and pikes. Baggage men each charged with looking after two pack horses



were ordered in 1648 to be armed with a sword and half-pike, and this presumably reflected earlier practice.

Although most muskets were common matchlocks, effective up to something under 100 metres but capable of providing harrassing fire up to 200 metres or more, some firelocks (flintlocks) were in use. These were for the most part issued to sentries, but in 1648 Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth commanded a regiment of Firelocks raised in Aberdeenshire, although this was rather unusual at this time.

The ordnance papers reveal that the individual musketeer carried his ammunition in a collar of bandoliers or powder chargers. The actual number of bandoliers suspended from the collar depending upon the bore of the musket. With the com-

mon musket taking 12 balls to the pound of lead – the normal ammunition scale – 12 bandoliers were required, hence the nickname of 'Apostles'. 'Bastard muskets', which were rather more widely used by the time of the Civil War, took 14 balls to the pound, and so required more bandoliers. Musket rests are not mentioned in the accounts; and although 'swine feathers' are found issued from time to time, there is no evidence that they were used as musket rests in the Swedish fashion, and they are rather more likely to have been used for the construction of temporary palisades<sup>(9)</sup>.

As to the other equipment issued to soldiers, a surprisingly complete list can be built up. Spalding noted that the Earl Marischal's men were provided with cooking

pots, pans and stoups (a 1648 document helpfully mentions 'tree stoups', thus identifying them as staved wooden ones as found on the *Wasa* and the *Mary Rose*). Other lists mention 'caps' – wooden porridge bowls – plates, and in 1651 at least, spoons<sup>(10)</sup>. Most of these utensils, together with the tents, were carried on the pack horses, but documentary evidence is lacking as to how the individual soldier carried his personal possessions. It is most likely that he wore all his clothing on his back and carried any surplus goods in his plaid – highlanders were certainly accused of secreting plunder thus – although it is just possible that in common with their contemporaries elsewhere they had the canvas or leather duffle-bags known as 'snapsacks'.

Thus raised, led and equipped, the Scots infantryman was to march great distances, subsisting very largely on oatmeal (a food the English proclaimed fit only for horses). He was to fight hard, capturing English cities which had successfully resisted the Scots in hundreds of years of border warfare; and he was to plunder like the very devil . . .

MI

### Notes:

- (1) Spalding, John, *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (1850 edn), Vol.II, p.320.
- (2) Napier, Mark, *Memorials of Montrose and his times* (1848-50), Vol.II, pp.127, 130; Terry, Prof. C.S., *The Army of the Covenant* (1917), Vol.I, p.xvii.
- (3) Spalding, Vol.I, p.347.
- (4) Peachy, S. & Turton, A., *Old Robin's Foot* (1987); Terry, Prof. C.S., *op.cit.*; *Clothing Found on a Skeleton at Quintfall Hill*, Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., 1921.
- (5) Spalding, Vol.I, pp.353, 377; Peachy & Turton, *op.cit.*
- (6) *Diary of Sir Thomas Hope* (1843), p.201.
- (7) BM Harl.1460, *A Perfect Registry of all the Colours, Both Horse and Foot Taken From the Scots* . . .
- (8) Spalding, Vol.II, p.320-1; Terry, Vol.I, p.xcvi, quoting PRO SP 41/2.
- (9) Sir James Turner diffidently noted having seen them made use of in the Swedish army, but it is quite clear that he did not see them used by the Scots at home.
- (10) Spalding, Vol.II, p.320; Committee of Estates 26 May 1648; Sir James Balfour, *Historical Works* (1824), Vol.IV, p.337-343.

# The Illustrations of Fortunino Matania

W.Y.CARMAN

For more than half a century, the anglophilic Italian artist and illustrator Fortunino Matania brought a special quality of romantic historical atmosphere to the pages of the leading illustrated magazines in Britain and abroad. Many of his finest works were inspired by the Great War. Though fashions have changed since his heyday, the extraordinary facility of his drawings, and their richness of researched or imagined detail, still command the respect of all professional illustrators.

Fortunino Matania was born in Naples, Italy in 1881. He was the son of Professor-Cavaliere Eduardo Matania and Clelia della Valle. His father was a well-known southern Italian artist, who made illustrations for a number of high-grade Italian publications such as the popular *Illustrazione Italiana*. Fortunino worked in his father's studio from an early age, and learned fast enough to be judged an infant prodigy. At the age of 11 he produced a life-sized painting of a group of chickens which was accepted by the Naples Academy. By the age of 14 he was helping his father with historical illustrations.

Although photographic processes were replacing the old art of making wood engravings at short notice from artists' sketches to record current events in the press, there were still many opportunities for artists to produce impressions of up-to-the-minute news stories, as well as reconstructing past happenings. When editors familiar with Professor Matania's work saw drawings signed by Fortunino they at first refused to believe that they were the product of such a precocious talent; but when the 14-year-old visited the editorial office and made drawings under the eyes of the staff, their suspicion turned to astonishment. The boy was immediately offered employment; and from 1895 to 1901 Fortunino recon-

structed news stories weekly, with such minutely detailed results that local police and other officials sometimes claimed that he could only have achieved them by using his father's press card to gain access to events in person.

At the age of 20 Fortunino was in Paris, working for *L'Illustration Française*; but soon afterwards he moved to London, where he covered the Coronation of King Edward VII. He was fascinated by the ceremonial and the costumes. Until 1904 he worked for the *Graphic*, a periodical which later went to

the *Sphere*, with a break when he was recalled to Italy to fulfil his military service. His tour with the Bersaglieri gave him an insight into military life, and for the rest of his career he brought a special flair to illustrations of fighting men.

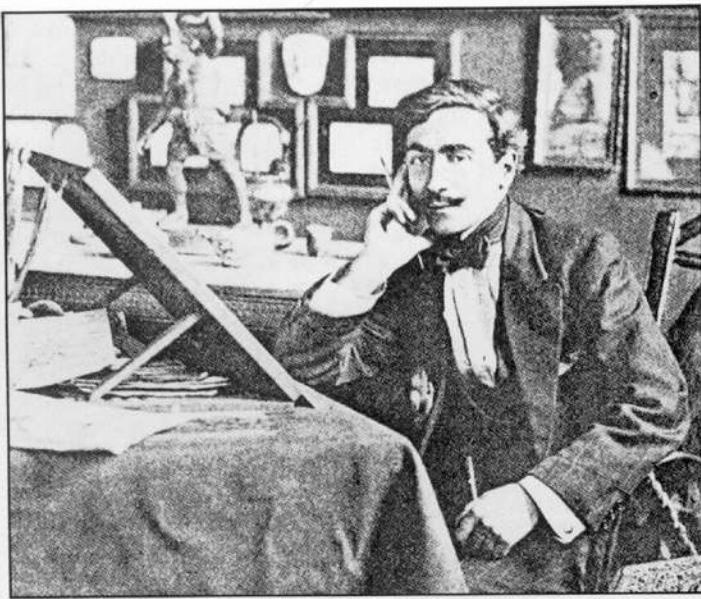
Despite his love of England, he never renounced his Italian citizenship—a patriotic principle which was to cause him temporary difficulties at the time of the Second World War, when he came under some pressure until he was able to convince the authorities of his loyalty to his

adopted home.

In 1905 Matania married Elvira du Gennario, by whom he had a son and a daughter. (The marriage lasted until her death in 1952; in 1960, at the age of 79, he married Ellen Jane Goldsack.) It was also in 1905 that he began work for the *Sphere*, and his drawings were soon appearing in many other principal magazines in Europe and America.

His accurate portrayal of royal occasions led to his being invited in 1911 to cover the Delhi Durbar when King George V and Queen Mary were made King-Emperor and Queen-Empress of India. Vast crowds of spectators and thousands of troops left little space for press reporters to get close to the centre of events, and journalists were reduced to peering through binoculars from their stand. The many artists assembled to record the ceremony were given a closer vantage point—but still not close enough for Matania. He had completed much basic work at the dress rehearsal; but he was determined to get the best possible view of the actual event. It was to be a glittering military occasion. Thousands of Bri-

This impression of Prussian Uhlan attacking a Belgian Army barricade was drawn and painted in water-colour, on a 10in x 14in. Bristol board, without consulting references, under the delighted eyes of Percy V. Bradshaw of the Press Agency.





One of the epics of the retreat from Mons was the last stand of 'L' Battery, Royal Horse Artillery at Néry on 1 September 1914. Matania drew this scene more than once. This reconstruction shows No.6 gun (which can be seen today at the Royal Artillery Museum), the last 18-pdr. of three which managed to get into action when the 1st Cavalry Brigade came under unexpected shellfire while saddling up to move; the rest of the battery were smashed while still limbered. No.6 fired on for some 2½ hours before running out of ammunition, buying vital time for a counterattack. It was served by successive crews as men fell steadily under enemy shell and machine gun fire. Here BSM Dorrell (later VC), Gnr. Derbyshire (DCM), Dvr. Osborne (DCM), and Sgt. Nelson (VC), the last survivors, serve No.6 after Capt. Bradbury (posthumous VC) had been severely wounded. (Original water-colour, courtesy Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged.)

tish and Indian troops were to take part; the King-Emperor was to present colours to seven British and three Indian regiments; the Household Cavalry were present, sweltering in their cuirasses, together with trumpeters and a kettle-drummer in golden State costume – the whole

scene could not have been richer or more dramatically presented. When the day dawned, Matania was at the foot of the steps leading to the royal thrones – in a surreptitiously-acquired Army uniform, mingling with the troops, and keeping rigidly to attention under the broiling sun . . . Blessed with a remarkable visual memory, he got his artwork to London within a fortnight. For his services on this occasion Matania received the Coronation Medal.

#### THE GREAT WAR

Three years later the First World War broke out, and Matania began working harder than ever. As a national of an Allied nation he was employed by the Ministry of Propaganda, and went to the front several times as a war artist. After the battle of Neuve Chapelle the pencil notes in his small sketchbook were sufficient for him to produce work of an atmosphere more striking than thousands of words from war correspondents could con-

vey; his double-page spreads in the *Sphere* were rich with details recorded by his photographic memory, recreated with a sure hand.

In 1916 Percy V. Bradshaw, well-known head of the Press Agency, visited Matania's studio, and watched while the artist created before his eyes a water-colour painting of an incident at 'A Belgian Barricade'. The development of the painting was photographed at several stages, and the process was enthusiastically written-up by Bradshaw – who eventually acquired the original, and hung it over his desk as one of his most valued possessions.

Some of Matania's wartime illustrations were built up with the help of descriptions by soldiers. He would occasionally visit a wounded survivor in hospital, and take along maps, and even a box of toy soldiers, to enable him to discuss the situation and tactics in detail with the eyewitness. (Matania had an interest in miniature figures. Years later, when he produced a magnificent colour

plate of Cleopatra in her chariot, his work inspired Otto Gottstein, a producer of fine tin figures, to make a special issue, which he had painted by a French miniaturist before presenting it to the delighted artist.)

Besides his many paintings in wartime periodicals Matania worked directly for a number of British regiments. The 2nd Bn., Royal Munster Fusiliers chose 'The Absolution on the Rue du Bois', recording the occasion when Father Gleeson blessed the troops the day before their action near Arras in May 1915. 'The Charge of the 5th Dragoon Guards at Harbonnia' in August 1918, which included action with an enemy armoured train, was exhibited in the Royal Academy before it went to the regiment. Among Matania's most famous and popular images was 'Good-bye, Old Man', a sentimental treatment of a Gunner parting from his stricken horse. The eventual end of the war saw a wash drawing 'Signing of the Peace Treaty', which the



artist presented to the Imperial War Museum in 1957.

### HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATION

The war over, Matania returned to the recreation of historical subjects ranging from scenes of Classical antiquity, through the centuries to scenes from more recent English history. He illustrated text on such subjects from 1929; and in 1931 he began to write the articles himself, in the monthly magazine *Britannia and Eve*. This series, 'Old Tales Retold', continued up to the outbreak of the Second World War, and allowed him to indulge in the portrayal of stalwart men and beautiful women in sumptuous surroundings – he was always a true son of Italy in his appreciation of the 'female form divine'. He also made copious illustrations for a book *Anne Boleyn the Queen* by E. Barrington, which appeared in instalments in a periodical.

His 'Old Tales Re-told' allowed him to show fighting men, from Pyrrhus to Cortes, and from Flora MacDonald and Bonnie Prince Charlie to the Napoleonic Wars, when Mary Anne Talbot became a drummer-'boy' to follow her lost lover to the wars, only to find him dead on the battlefield.

Matania's confident reconstruction of the ancient world and later historical periods brought him to the notice of film-makers in the interwar years. Cecil B. De Mille wondered if he could produce an orgy scene; and Matania supplied the director with many illustrations, one famous series of images appearing on the screen in *The Ten Commandments* in the sequence 'The Sacrifice to the Golden Calf'.

By now the artist's earlier work was being repeated in popular publications such as *Everybody's* and *Picture Post*; and his contributions to the *Sphere* were also appearing as postcards.

All the time that Matania

was producing popular pictures he still found time for 'academic' studies and paintings. He exhibited ten times at the Royal Academy between 1908 and 1922. It is said that on one occasion he had delayed so long in preparing his entry that he left it until three days before 'Sending-In Day' to begin a beautiful and elaborate water-colour of Ancient Rome full of minute details 'drawn from memory'. It was bought on 'Varnishing Day' by John Singer Sargent, himself a famous artist (whose best-known work today, the huge oil painting *Gassed*, to be seen in the Imperial War Museum, represents a modern and unflinching view of the realities of war. That Sargent valued the very different skills of Matania

**Below:**

Another Great War artillery scene, showing a horse battery galloping through the streets of a shell-battered French town. It is typical of the verve and confidence of Matania's water-coloured drawings of the front lines. (Courtesy RAI, Woolwich)

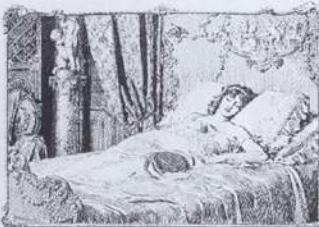




should remind us that between artists, fashionabi-

**Above:**

Matania's painting of the 2nd Bn., The Green Howards holding the Petit Kruiseek crossroads on the Ypres-Menin road in October 1914; the battalion headquarters was in the building at the left. At the right, a rifle company moves up to the line on the road to Kruiseeks, past the aid post. In the right foreground, carrying wounded, is Pte. Henry Tansey, later VC, DCM, MM. (National Army Museum)



*Famous Beauties in Repose*  
Madame Pompadour

THE name of La Passeador's suggests no picture of that gay and alluring woman who left away by the power of her beauty and her charming personality. That successive round of pleasure would have taken toll of her beauty if it had not been for the fact that she enjoyed the good health that followed eight of unremitting sleep.

"Oratine" is made by a scientific and exclusive process, from specially prepared and matured fresh creamery milk, and does not require heat, steam or pasteurized lactose. It contains no added sugar or any other solids, and to change the taste it does not require any other ingredient. It can be consumed with satisfaction of food substances containing a reasonable percentage of added sugar.

—Wait! Reclined and upright,  
only this unique fabric has become  
because of its remarkable softness & resilience —  
“there is nothing “soft as wool.”

lity does not interfere with professional respect.) Mata-  
nia also took the opportunity to show Classical scenes and female figures in the exhibitions of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colour, among the more usual rural landscapes.

In his various homes Mata-  
nia collected many valuable  
books on costume, architec-  
ture, and every aspect of  
ancient history to aid his his-  
torical reconstructions. The  
furniture he drew was most  
convincing; to understand  
this subject he made repro-  
ductions of various pieces,  
including Roman furniture  
inlaid with mother-of-pearl,  
a bed and a couch hand-  
carved and ornamented with  
brass.

Left:

*Matania was a working illustrator, and was never too proud to take on advertising commissions. This series was close to his warm Italian heart: a sequence of drawings of great beauties of the past in repose, advertising Ovaltine . . . His work can also be found among publications of the 1920s to 1940s advertising such mundane products as Viyella shirts, and hire-purchase furniture.*

For his figure-drawing Matania had two mannikins, which he considered essential tools of his trade, and 'like my own flesh and blood'. The male figure was a life-size model made in Naples, but the female was a dummy which he found in the old Caledonian Market during the 1920s. He also occasionally employed nude models; and in his later years he was famous for his female studies, which bear comparison with the work of Russell Flint. For less exotic subjects he drew from his friends and his secretary.

In the late 1950s Matania suffered a broken hip, and, to his impatience, had to use crutches. He did not allow this to stop him putting in a full day's work, however. At nearly 80 and snowy-haired, he looked years younger; and remained justly proud of his steady hand. But on 8 February 1963, at the age of 82, time caught up at last with this vital personality; he died in the French Hospital, Shaftesbury Avenue, London. He

left an enduring reputation among professional illustrators for his astonishing gift of draughtsmanship, his speed and his professionalism.

To search in the work of artists of Matania's type and period for minutely detailed accuracy – to use it as 'reference' for small physical details – is largely pointless: it was neither their pretence nor their job to produce reference sources. Their skill lay in their eye and hand, in a mastery of anatomy, in a flair for drapery, for movement and dash, for setting figures in a background that carried immediate conviction – and in doing it to a deadline, with no time for deep research. Anything more than this is a bonus: few enough illustrators of our own day can even approach the old masters in basic drawing skills. **[M]**

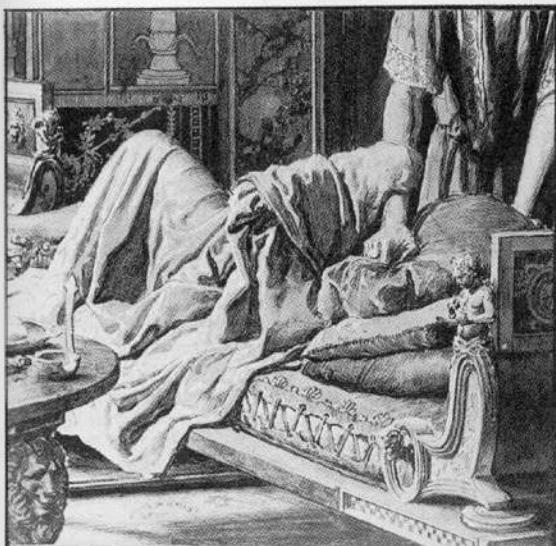
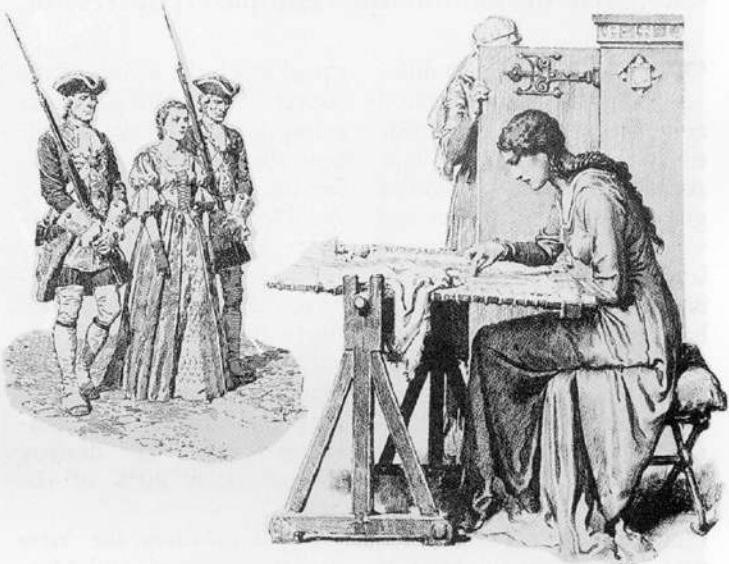
### Sources:

Among the sources used I am able to quote the *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Who Was Who*, *Sphere*, Peter Brown, Percy V. Bradshaw, Michael Cane, C.V. Matania and various surviving publications.



'Old Tales Re-told', the series of historical articles which Matania wrote and drew during the 1930s for Britannia and Eve magazine, allowed his romanticism, and his draughtsmanship, full rein. This miscellany of illustrations includes some of his simpler line and cross-hatch work, and examples of the denser water-coloured studies which displayed his mastery of drapery. Among the subjects are dark doings at the Capri palace of the Emperor Tiberius – note the careful treatment of the furniture; the arrest of Flora Macdonald; William of Normandy's

Queen Mathilda at work on her tapestry; King Henry VIII in tournament armour; Princess Elizabeth proclaiming her loyalty to her sister, Queen Mary; and Mary Anne Talbot, disguised as a boy and sailing for the 1792 Flanders campaign in search of her lost lover, Capt. Bowen.



# 'Streetfighters': The US Marines at Hue, Tet 1968

## (1) Field Uniforms

Text and photographs by KEVIN LYLES

On the morning of 31 January 1968, taking advantage of a truce called for the Lunar New Year, 84,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops launched a series of co-ordinated attacks on major cities throughout South Vietnam, thus precipitating what was to become known as the 'Tet' offensive. Only in Hue, often called the Imperial City, were the Communists completely successful.

Though less than 30 miles from the de-militarised zone, Hue had remained relatively untouched by the war. At 3.40 a.m. Hue's period of grace came to an abrupt end when the Communists launched their attack with an intense mortar and rocket barrage; by daybreak the blue and red flag of the NLF was flying over the Citadel.

Within hours of the Communist occupation, elements of the 1st and 5th US Marines arrived in Hue from nearby Phu Bai, initially to relieve the beleaguered MACV compound. When the situation was fully realised, three understrength Marine battalions were given the task of retaking the city. For the Marines, mostly short-term enlistees, it was to be a new kind of war. Used to jungles and rice paddies, they found themselves fighting house to house, one room at a time, against a highly motivated and well entrenched enemy. Not since the Korean War had the Marines fought a major action within a city. The young Marines had to learn the lessons of street fighting from scratch. Movement was limited to fire-team rushes from one bit of cover to the next, always preceded by a storm of automatic weapons fire. The fighting was conducted at platoon and

squad level, the layout of the streets fragmenting larger groups; under these conditions the responsibility of leadership was necessarily shouldered by young lieutenants and NCOs. Initially every effort was made to preserve the beautiful old capital city; but eventually the volume of firepower that the Marines brought to bear in support of the fighting companies was to destroy approximately 40% of the city.

On 6 February the 'new city' was secured, and Marines from Hotel Company, 2nd Battalion, 5th Marines ('Hotel 2/5') raised the Stars and Stripes over the provincial capital. Two weeks of fierce fighting later, the Citadel was back in Allied hands. The honour of taking the final objective, the Imperial Palace, was handed to the South Vietnamese, a political gesture not entirely appreciated by the battle-weary Marines.

### UNIFORMS AND ACCESSORIES

As a general note, it should be understood that the Marine Corps has a tradition of lagging behind the other branches of the service in the issue of new items of uniform and equipment. Interestingly, though, the individual



Marine does not resent this; rather, he takes a perverse pride in the affectation of 'salty' kit - a preference for older items, thus conveying an image of experience.

Photographed during the Hue fighting, L/Cpl C.D. Bradford, an RTO with Golf 2/5; behind him, an M60 gunner. Bradford's M1A1 Thompson is a strictly non-issue weapon, and must have been acquired in-country. (USMC)

Our reconstructions of two Marine riflemen are representative of any of the 'grunts' who fought on the streets of Hue.

(Left) This Marine wears late-pattern jungle utilities under M1955 Body Armor. His trousers are rolled for ventilation, and his jungle boots are worn half-laced for comfort, with a single 'dog tag' attached to one of the laces. As a rifleman he carries several hundred rounds of 5.56mm ammunition loaded into magazines and packed in the three cotton bandoliers draped round his torso. He also carries up to six M26 fragmentation grenades in the World War II-type carrier on his right hip; typically, another is hung handy for immediate use from the pocket of his flak vest. His belt kit is Marine M1961 issue with the exception of the M1956 plastic canteens. On his back is his M1941 haversack with attached poncho and entrenching tool. His helmet is fitted with an M1C parachutist's liner with chin strapping - popular among Marines. The 'field expedient' band holds a field dressing and a bottle of insect repellent, C ration cigarettes, matches and toilet

paper. His M16 rifle is the early model with three-pronged flash suppressor; two magazines are taped 'duplex' style, and a cleaning rod is taped to the forearm. The M7 bayonet is fixed; its sheath hangs from an ammunition pouch on the belt kit.

(Right) One of the many variants of rain suit is worn under the body armour - note turned-up cuffs on both jacket and trousers. (The silver-grey finish of the inner surface can appear white in monochrome photographs, leading to erroneous descriptions of 'white-lined' rain suits.) His belt kit is made up entirely of M1956 items, with two M18 coloured smoke grenades carried on the universal pouches. Additional ammunition is carried in the Claymore mine bag under his left arm, and he has a 'ready' magazine in the chest pocket of his body armour. A belt of 7.62mm disintegrating link for his squad's M60 machine gun is draped around his torso; his M17 respirator is carried in its bag on the left thigh. His M16 is the later model with 'birdcage' flash suppressor; both models were in use by Marine units in 1968.



All the items illustrated in the accompanying photographs are in mint condition for the sake of uniformity and clarity, although in reality a Marine in the field would present a rather different picture. The Olive Green (OG 107) colour of most items, which gave rise to the Corps' nickname 'The Green Machine', soon faded to a light green/grey, and was impregnated

with the red soil characteristic of the country. Even the leather of the issue tropical boot eventually wore away and took on the same hue as the rest of the uniform.

Among the reflexes instilled in a Marine during training is a tremendous esprit, and the average 'grunt' would regard himself as considerably superior to his colleagues in the 'lesser services'.

He was not, however, above a certain amount of inter-service scrapping; and by 1968 a lot of Marines were appropriating Army web equipment, which was unquestionably superior to their own. The Corps also had its own peculiar terminology for most things, military or otherwise - field uniforms, for instance, were called 'utilities', never 'fatigues'.

#### Tropical combat uniform

By 1968 the Marine Corps, along with most other American troops, were wearing the 'tropical combat uniform', usually referred to as 'jungle utilities'. This uniform had replaced the earlier OG 107 utility uniform in 1966, though some Marines continued to wear OG 107 shirts or trousers alongside the jungle utilities. Likewise, when the Corps adopted the camouflage jungle utilities in late 1968, the changeover took almost a full year and Marines were allowed to interchange the two uniforms.

The tropical combat uniform was designed by Lt. Gen. William Yarborough and was based on his design for the World War II Airborne uniform. The first pattern utility coat, really a shirt/jacket and referred to by Marines as a 'blouse', featured four large cargo pockets on

chest and skirts; the upper two were slanted to facilitate easy access under web equipment. The first coat also had epaulettes, a gas flap at the throat and tightening tabs at the waist. The trousers had a large bellows cargo pocket on each thigh, tightening tabs at the waist and drawstrings around the bottom of each leg. All the pockets on the first uniform were secured by exposed olive drab plastic buttons. The material used in the manufacture of this uniform was all-cotton, wind-resistant poplin.

A second pattern was introduced which retained all the earlier features but with all buttons concealed, after numerous complaints of snagging on branches, etc. The third and final pattern was issued in 1967. This retained the concealed buttons but lost the other features of the original coat - the epaulettes, gas flap and tightening tabs. This uniform was manufactured in either the original cotton/poplin or in a new 'rip-stop' cotton/poplin which incorporated a nylon weave which strengthened the fabric. The Corps received all these variants; and though by 1968 the final pattern was predominant, it was by no means universal.

The only insignia officially sanctioned for wear on jungle



utilities were the rank insignia worn on the points of the collar. These took the form of blackened brass pin-on devices, following the usual sequence of chevrons for enlisted personnel and bars, oakleaves and eagles for officers. The wearing of rank pin-ons on the collar was a system the Corps had pioneered in Korea, and one which was adopted by the Army in Vietnam.

When the jungle utilities first appeared in-country, some individuals added their name above the right breast pocket with a marker pen, others inked rank insignia on sleeves. There was a good deal of confusion over this individual marking of uniforms: some units seem to have condoned it, even ordered it, while others banned any such practice. There was similar confusion on the subject of the USMC insignia on the chest pocket of jungle utilities. Officially the coat did not receive the globe-and-anchor badge, thus breaking a long-standing tradition; possibly the reasoning behind this was that the pocket features a gusset which would cut straight through the globe-and-anchor design. Some Marines, no doubt taking umbrage at this, applied the iron-on insignia to the pocket

flap and the USMC cypher below on the pocket itself, either side of the gusset. Some traditionally-minded individuals added their own rendering of the insignia with a ballpoint or marker pen.

Significantly, when the camouflage version of the uniform appeared, the insignia was reinstated in the manner described.

Coat sleeves were worn rolled up or down depending on conditions, or were sometimes cut off at the elbow and rolled to form short sleeves. Trousers were worn 'bloused' over the boots, or were simply rolled up to improve ventilation and drainage when wet.

Worthy of mention at this point is the *Marine Corps trouser belt*. Something of a trademark, the belt had a simple open frame brass buckle on two-inch-wide khaki webbing which faded to a dull yellow in use.

#### **Uniform accessories**

*Underwear* was at this stage manufactured in OD; earlier in the war it was issued white and bulk dyed at unit level. The OD *T-shirt* was worn either as an undershirt beneath the jungle utility coat or on its own in hot weather. OD boxer-style 'skivvy' shorts were issued and worn by most – though some Marines chose not to, as the

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*Label, M1955 Body Armor*

*The Marine Corps M1955 Body Armor – right, first pattern with single breast pocket; below, late pattern vest with additional cargo pockets, this example dated 26 February 1968.*





**Above:**

'Leaf pattern' helmet cover introduced in the early 1960s, here shown green side out, in newly issued condition.

**Right:**

The same cover after some time in use. Graffiti are copied from contemporary photographs, and include the 'short-timer's' calendar listing the 13 months of the Marine's Vietnam tour of duty. The helmet band is roughly cut from an old inner tube; the chinstrap, typically, is fastened round the rear of the helmet.

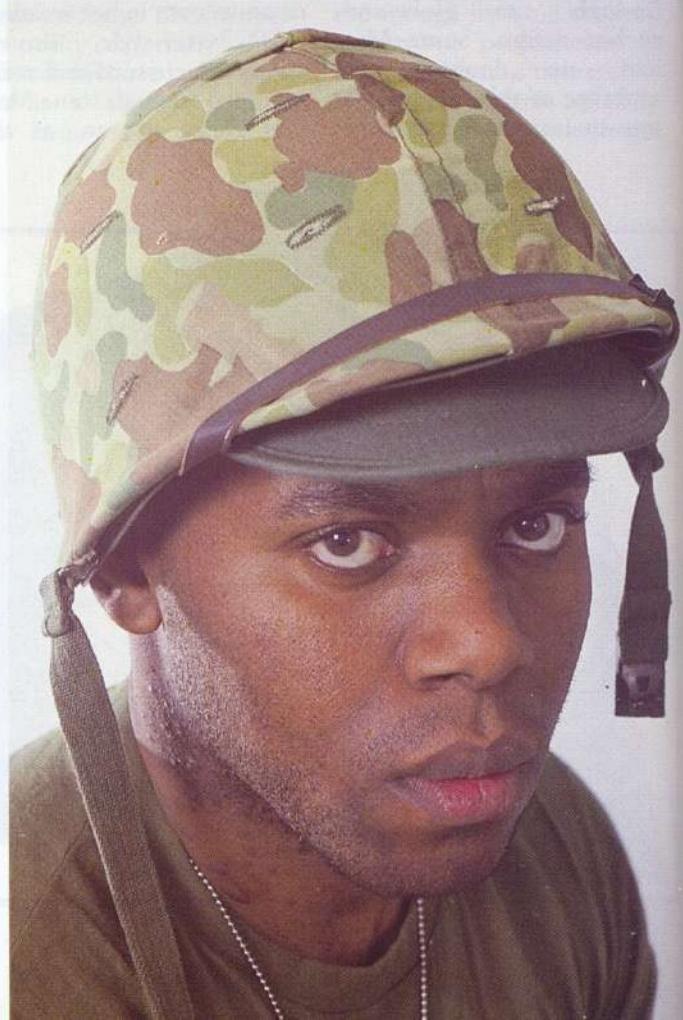
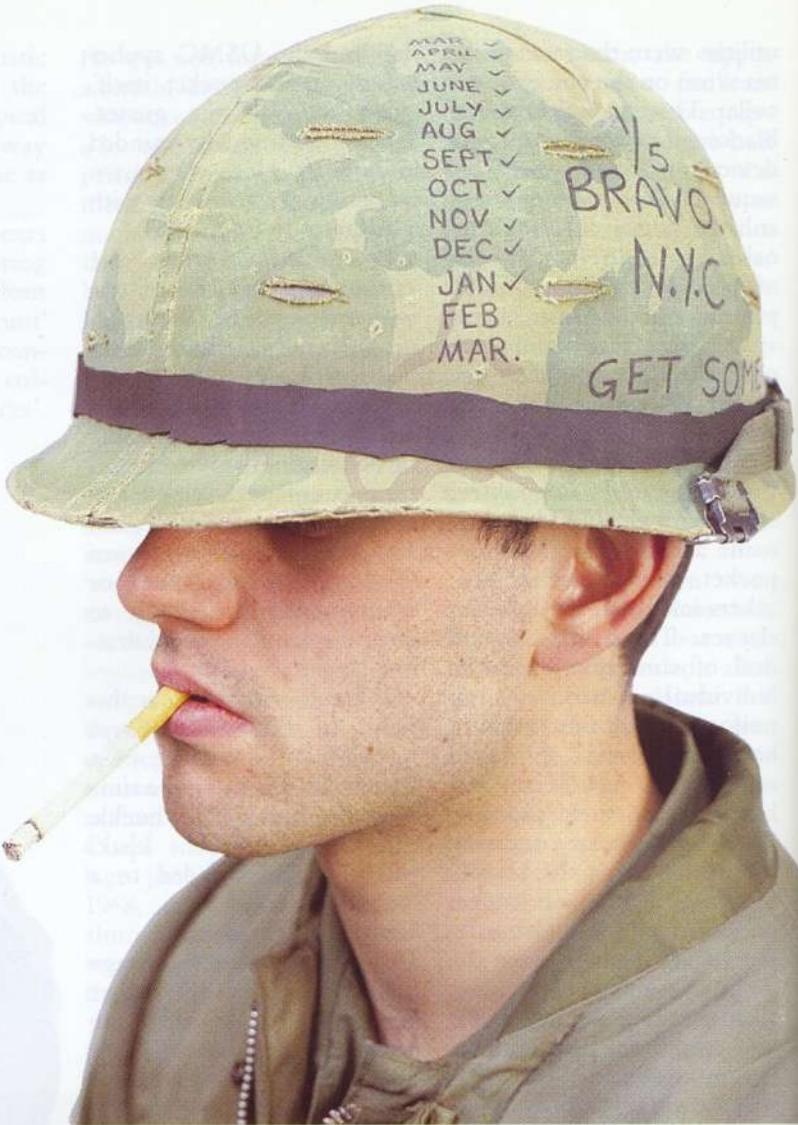
**Below:**

Cover of World War II/Korean War vintage in lightweight 'duck

hunter' camouflage fabric, with integral face veil – the camouflage-printed net veil can be seen at the front of the helmet where it is tucked inside. Having a permanently fixed band for foliage, this cover lacks slits. The helmet illustrated is worn with an M1C paratrooper's liner with its distinctive A-straps and chin strapping.

**Below right:**

A Korean War era cover, this example dated 1953, in 'duck hunter' pattern; it is worn here on an old M1 helmet with liner chin strap; typically worn up over the front helmet brim. A 'utility cover' is worn under the helmet liner.



shorts were said to aggravate cases of 'jungle rot' in certain areas. The woollen, cushion-soled socks were rotated in time-honoured fashion so that the Marine always had at least one dry pair. A common trick was to keep the dry socks in a plastic battery bag in the pack. It was also a common practice to use the socks as improvised ration carriers for C-Ration cans, the socks being tied off and hung from the pack or equipment.

Many Marines carried in their pack what was termed a 'sleeping shirt'. This was a winter-weight utility shirt, the idea being that the shirt would be kept dry inside the pack by day and donned at night in place of the presumably sweat-soaked jungle utility coat.

### BODY ARMOUR

During the Korean War the Corps had pioneered the design and development of body armour for ground troops, these armours being universally known as 'flak vests'. By 1951 the M51 pattern vest was on general issue within the Corps, and is credited with saving countless lives during the fighting in Korea. This vest was refined into the 'Armor Body Fragmentation Protective Upper Torso w/Collar M.1955', and this improved version was worn by Marines throughout the involvement in Vietnam. The M1955 was a sleeveless garment which used two types of armour. The first, a flexible weave of 13-ply ballistic nylon, covered the shoulders and upper back; the second, a series of overlapping fibreglass (Doron) plates, protected the abdomen and lower back, the whole being encased in an OD cotton duck shell. A small collar also made from ballistic nylon afforded some protection to the neck. The vest additionally featured a band of webbing around the bottom with eyelets to which equipment with M1910-type fasteners, such as canteens, pistol holsters etc., could be attached – in practice this feature was rarely used. A rope ridge on the right shoulder prevented

the sling of a rifle from slipping off, and a small open pocket on the left breast was just big enough for a field dressing, spare magazine, etc.

The M1955 was manufactured in sizes small, through to extra-large, the medium size weighing 10 lbs. The vest was designed to protect the vital areas of the torso from low velocity fragments from grenades, mortar rounds, etc.; it would rarely withstand small arms projectiles.

The Marine Corps placed far more emphasis on the wearing of body armour than did the Army, and with the exception of Recon troops most Marines wore a vest on operations regardless of the weather. In 1968 the vest was modified by the addition of two large lower pockets, and some vests began to appear with the rope ridge on both shoulders. Typically, when a Marine's vest became unserviceable he would often 'acquire' an M52 or M69 vest as issued to Army and ARVN units. Photographs show a surprising number of Marines in Hue wearing Army vests. Initially the vest was issued with a 'groin protector' of similar construction, which, being cumbersome to move in, was rapidly 'lost' at the first opportunity.

### HEADGEAR

The M1 steel helmet and fibre liner was universally issued to US and Allied ground forces throughout the war. The basic design remained unchanged since World War II, though several modifications had been made to the liner and chinstrap. The Marine Corps typically continued to use many World War II vintage helmets with the characteristic liner chin strap, along with all the variants thereafter.

The Corps, in common with other branches of the

'Cap utility' – the Marine Corps' unique 'utility cover', here in newly issued condition – the colour would soon fade to grey/green. Marines took a perverse pride in sporting sun-bleached and generally well-worn uniforms as an indication of experience. Note corporal's pin-on rank insignia.

service, received the 'Helmet Cover – Reversible' in so-called 'leaf-pattern'. Introduced in the early 1960s, the cover featured a green foliage pattern on one side and an abstract brown design on the reverse. It also incorporated two rows of slits for the insertion of local foliage as an additional camouflage aid. In Vietnam the cover was worn almost exclusively green side out. Constant exposure to the elements faded the initially bright colours and shrunk the cover tightly over the shell. The cover was worn until it was more faded and threadbare than was usually found in Army units.

Many Marines were issued with the older 'duck hunter' pattern covers of World War II or Korean vintage. By the 1960s this pattern was exclusive to the Corps. Like the leaf pattern this was green/brown reversible; originally this was intended to be for jungle and beach use respectively, in the Pacific theatre. The World War II covers were usually of a heavy herringbone twill material, and occasionally lacked foliage holes; the Korean era covers were manufactured of a lighter weight cotton. The Corps' globe-and-anchor insignia was sometimes stencilled onto the front of both.

Also of World War II vintage was the cover/face veil, which was probably the most common of the older patterns issued in Vietnam. This cover was of a lightweight fabric, originally to be worn over a standard cover, and incorpo-

rated a netting veil that hung from the rim of the helmet enclosing the head and neck. Again designed for use in the Pacific theatre, the veil was intended as camouflage and as protection against insects. When not in use the veil was tucked up inside the helmet between the shell and the liner. Interestingly, the use of 'duck hunter' pattern covers does not seem to have lessened as the war progressed and all the versions, particularly the veil, were still much in evidence later on, possibly because the exclusive pattern was recognised as a 'tribal' item.

The OD elastic foliage band as issued to Army units was not widely available to Marines until late 1968; far more common was a 'field expedient' version roughly cut from an old inner tube. Into this would be inserted any small items that the Marine wished to keep readily to hand, or dry during river crossings, such as C-ration cigarettes, matches and toilet paper. Other common items were can openers, first field dressings, and the ubiquitous bottle of insect repellent – 'bug-juice'. M-60 machine gunners would often slip a bottle of LSA (lubricant-small arms) and a toothbrush into the band for weapon maintenance. Chin straps were usually fixed around the back of the helmet out of the way, or simply cut off altogether.

By 1968 the use of graffiti on helmet covers was widespread, becoming a means of





A Marine grenadier of Foxtrot Company, 2nd Battalion, 5th Marines fires his M79 at a North Vietnamese stronghold inside the Citadel during the fighting for Hue in February 1968. (USMC)

**Below:**

The M65 field jacket worn under the flak vest - note the integral hood which zips into the collar.



expressing identity and opinion. Names of units, states, hometowns, girlfriends and 'nommes de guerre' were all common themes. 'Short-timers' calendars were also a popular way for a Marine to

mark off the progress of his thirteen-month tour - one month more than his Army counterpart. As the war progressed the graffiti reflected the opinions and sentiments

of the time, peace symbols becoming more prolific.

When the helmet was not in use, the Corps required some other form of headgear to be worn. The famous 'boonie hat' was not worn by

**Below right**

The hood of the rain suit was often worn under the helmet in this manner; though generously cut, rain suits were always worn underneath the body armour.





Marines of Alpha 1/1 lower a wounded comrade from a rooftop at the University of Hue during fighting on 2 February. The two-part construction of the flak vest's protective layers is clearly seen in the rear view at right. (USMC)

while in a static position, but was useless to fight in.

The individual Marine found many alternative solutions to this problem, and was to be seen sporting a variety of waterproof jackets and trousers under the blanket description of 'rainsuits'. These came from Army, Navy, ARVN and even Australian sources, though the most common were the 'Parka Wet Weather' and 'Trousers Wet Weather' which were issued to Marine Corps armour crewmen and found their way into the possession of many grunts. This suit was made of a rubberised fabric, the jacket having a hood with integral visor and two slash pockets. The trousers were of a bib and brace design similar to World War II tanker's overalls. Rain gear was generally worn over the top of other clothing and was consequently oversized, resulting in turned-up cuffs and trouser legs unless the individual had been able to get the garments tailored. Many Marines opted not to use rain gear, as strenuous movement while wearing the suits caused the body to sweat and there was a danger of overheating. Another common version was the Army-issue rain suit, which lacked the peak on the hood of the jacket and the bib and brace feature of the trousers.

As an alternative outer garment many men wore field jackets of one type or another, the most common being the M65. This jacket featured four patch pockets, drawstrings at waist and hem, velcro closures at wrists, and a concealed hood in the collar. Some M51 Korean War vintage jackets were worn which had a separate button-on hood. Some field jackets had the Corps emblem on the left breast pocket, some did not - there seems to have been no hard and fast rule on this.

many Marines at the time, although in the last few years of the war its use would be widespread. The Marines' unique fatigue hat was the '*cap utility*' - another relic of the Pacific campaigns. Made in OD cotton, it had a crown of eight-point construction, with the globe and anchor design on the front panel. Some Marines fixed metal rank insignia above or below the badge. Officially the cap was to be stiffened so the individual points were well defined; in practice it was worn as shapeless as possible. A piece of C-ration card-

board was often inserted behind the front panel to display the Corps badge. Some Marines followed World War II practice and wore the cap under the helmet as a cap comforter; when not worn, it was often folded and kept inside the liner. The utility cap, along with all other headgear, is referred to in Marine parlance as a 'cover'. This arises from the Corps' practice of issuing recruits with a single cap frame and several detachable covers to complement the various orders of dress, e.g. dress greens, khakis, etc.

#### FOUL WEATHER KIT

The weather during the fighting in Hue was alternately humid or cold and wet, and the Marines broke out a wide variety of foul weather clothing. Most of this was 'organisational' property, i.e. it belonged to the Corps and was issued when needed (and, in theory, handed back in). Many Marines, however, had provided themselves with private items, scrounged from a variety of sources. The only piece of foul weather kit actually issued was the poncho, which was fine for keeping dry



Two examples of the identity disc, above stamped with the older service number and below with the nine-digit Social Security number.



### FOOTWEAR

In 1968 the Marine Corps was wearing 'Tropical Combat Boot' or 'jungle boot' which had replaced the old-style black leather combat boot in 1966. Typically, the Marines took longer to re-equip their people than the Army, but the changeover was largely complete by late 1967. The boot was basically a light-weight combat boot modified to suit the hot and invariably wet nature of the climate. Most of the leather upper was replaced by OD nylon duck which, along with drainage eyelets in the instep made the boot very quick-drying, an important consideration for troops fighting a paddy war. A modified boot appeared in May 1966 which had an additional strip of nylon to support the ankle, and an aluminium plate built into the sole, the latter added specifically after troops began to encounter the 'punji stake' booby trap with which the VC were so adept. Both ver-

The intermediate pattern tropical combat boot or 'jungle boot'; note drainage eyelets in instep, and ankle support.



sions came with a nylon mesh rot-proof insole. When new the leather was black, but it soon weathered down to a dusty suede, giving rise to the term 'boonie buffs'. The condition of a man's boots became almost a reflection of his experience, and 'time in' (country).

Often worn laced onto a boot would be a single aluminium *identity disc*, thus hopefully increasing the chances of identification. The discs, usually known as 'dog tags', were issued in a pair to every member of the armed services. Worn on a chain around the neck, the discs were stamped with the individual's name, service or social security number, religion and blood type; Marine Corps discs were additionally stamped with letters 'USMC'. A P.38 C-Ration can opener was often hung from the dog tag chain for immediate use.

**To be continued:** The concluding part of this article will describe and illustrate the many items of personal equipment carried by the Marines.

#### Acknowledgements:

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## REVIEWS



**'Tiberius Claudius Maximus, The Legionary'** written and illustrated by Peter Connolly; Oxford University Press; 32pp., colour ill. throughout; £4.95.

**Same format and price, 'Tiberius Claudius Maximus, The Cavalryman'.**

These two *en suite* books in OUP's 'Rebuilding the Past' series, by the well-respected illustrator and writer Peter Connolly, represent remarkable value for money. Although ostensibly children's educational books, they offer much of value to adult enthusiasts for the Roman period, and are strongly recommended. Those of us who collect such material can hardly forget that it was Connolly's book '*The Roman Army*' for Macdonald in 1975 which transformed the available references with its attractive and colourful blend of photographically-detailed paintings of objects, and its lively scenes of soldiers in realistic settings. These books are not merely a reworking of existing material, but offer some quite new information drawn from more recent archaeological and scholastic work.

The hook on which Connolly hangs his studies of the equipment and military career of a legionary and a cavalryman of the period of the Dacian wars at the turn of the 1st century AD is the tombstone, discovered in northern Greece, of his eponymous hero, a historical character, who - unusually, but conveniently for Connolly - served both in the ranks of Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis, and later as a junior officer in Ala II Panniorum, and who was decorated for his service in different Dacian campaigns.

The artwork is Connolly's usual mixture of 'close-ups' of items of armour and equipment, scenes of soldiers working and fighting, 'bird's eye views' of forts and formations, architectural reconstructions, and pleasing studies of 'landscapes with soldiers'. One spread from the 'Cavalryman' title has appeared in 'MI' (No. 13, pp.28-29). Among the nuggets we found particularly interesting were references to the legionary

cloak being fastened with buttons; the field modification of legionary helmets on campaign; the mixed use of plate, ring and scale armour within the ranks of the legions; and the arrangement of cavalry fort stables - long a knotty problem.

These are splendid little books, astonishingly inexpensive for their quality. We note with interest an announcement that a title on the Roman fort is in preparation.

MCW

**'US Army Uniforms of the Vietnam War'** by Shelby L. Stanton; Greenhill Books UK, Stackpole Books USA; 246pp.; maps, diagrams, 400+ mono photographs; h/bk.; £14.95 (£24.95 USA)

If there is anything to disappoint in this excellent and much-needed work, it is that the publishers have limited the use of colour photographs to the dust jacket. Here five colour views whet the reader's appetite, showing Tigerstripe, ERDL and late-pattern Vietnamese camouflage, as well as some fascinating insignia.

The book is arranged in 11 chapters, with numbered paragraphs covering headgear, uniforms, protective gear, clothing accessories, footwear, individual equipment, survival and existence gear and insignia. The photographs show the items factory-fresh, and in use in the field, and illustrate modifications and in-country improvements.

The length of the war, and the inventiveness of the Natick Laboratories supported by US industry, produced a huge variety of items. Capt. Stanton brings to the work of listing and describing them his talent for painstaking research, as well as his first-hand experience of six years of active duty - invaluable in backing up the judgements and comments about both conventional and very unusual equipment that was issued or trialled. ('The peanut butter in the B-1 units tasted like clay; and since the substance burned, was often used for landing-zone markers at night.')

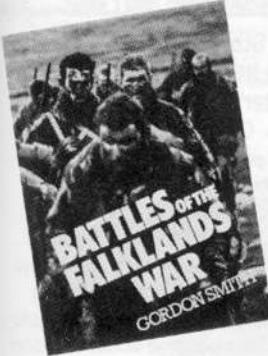
There are over 420 photographs and seven diagrams; invaluable for reference purposes, they also serve as a reminder of how young the soldiers were who served in Vietnam. The book illustrates how standards of dress had fallen off by the end of US involvement in Indochina, with the appearance of such non-standard emblems as 'peace' and 'Black Power' symbols.

Readers with a general interest in the Vietnam War will find much that is instructive in this book, which describes and illustrates items which are often mentioned in autobiographical accounts. The researcher and collector at last has a clear, logical and informative reference which - like the author's *Vietnam Order of Battle* - will become a definitive work.

EWWF

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PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE  
Paintings by BRYAN FOSTEN

'I myself marched during many hours close beside him... He looked stern and pale; but the very picture of a warrior. I shall never forget Craufurd if I live to a hundred years I think. He was in everything a soldier'<sup>(1)</sup>.

This description, by an ordinary private soldier, could scarcely be bettered as testimony to the unique qualities of one of the most remarkable of Wellington's subordinate commanders in the Peninsular War: Major-General Robert 'Black Bob' Craufurd, perhaps the sternest disciplinarian and toughest fighter in the British Army of the Napoleonic era.

Robert Craufurd was born at Newark, Ayrshire, on 5 May 1764, entering the 25th Foot as a subaltern at the age of 15. The family, old Scottish gentry, had an established reputation for disregarding social conventions; they maintained a long-running feud with the Kennedy family, and often flouted propriety (Craufurd's ancestor the Rev. George was dismissed from his parish for selling a horse on the Sabbath and for 'worldly-mindedness'!). Such attitudes may have descended to Robert, and perhaps account for the extreme bluntness of his behaviour.

Attaining his captaincy at the age of 19, Craufurd attended the annual Prussian manoeuvres at Potsdam; there he made the acquaintance of Frederick the Great, which may have encouraged his enthusiasm to educate himself in his profession. He transferred to the 75th Foot in

1783, serving with them in India against Tipu Sultan (1790-92). Returning to Europe shortly after the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars, he was employed with his elder brother Col. Charles Craufurd as British representative with the Austrian headquarters (being fluent in German, an unusual attainment among British officers). After Charles was wounded, Robert headed the mission with great competence. Promoted lieutenant-colonel in 1797, he served as Deputy Quartermaster-General in Ireland during the 1798 rebellion; in 1799 he was liaison officer with the Russo-Austrian army in Switzerland, and also served with the Duke of York in Holland.

Craufurd married in 1800, and remained so devoted to his wife that on several occasions he appears to have considered retirement; but such

threats were perhaps no more than the result of fits of depression, to which he seems to have been subject.

From 1801 to 1805 Craufurd sat as MP for East Retford (he was succeeded by his brother Charles), and became a great friend of William Windham, the somewhat impractical Secretary for War; through this friendship Craufurd became almost an unofficial military advisor to the Ministry, and though only a junior colonel (to which rank he was promoted in October 1805) was given high command in the disastrous and ill-advised expedition to Buenos Aires in 1807. The whole South American venture was ill-conceived; it was even suggested that Craufurd establish a chain of outposts over the Andes to link Chile with the Atlantic – a scheme so impractical as to defy belief. He handled his brigade ably in the savage street-fighting, and though forced to capitulate with the rest of the force he was virtually the only commander to emerge with credit from the whole débâcle. (Rifleman Harris believed the story that Craufurd tried to have the commander, Whitelocke, shot; it would not have been uncharacteristic.)

## TO THE PENINSULA

In 1808 Craufurd was given command of the Light Brigade with Moore in the Peninsula; at that time it comprised the 1/43rd, 2/52nd and 2/95th, which had benefited so greatly from Moore's training in light infantry tactics that they were arguably the finest battalions in the army. Craufurd led them through the horrors of the retreat to Corunna (actually his brigade marched instead to Vigo), holding them together through all privations simply by the force of his personality. At this period Craufurd was still only a colonel, though he was appointed a brigadier for his Peninsular service, and rose to the rank of major-general before his death.

After the Corunna evacuation, Craufurd returned to the Peninsula to command Wellington's Light Brigade (later Division), which he led perhaps most famously in the epic forced march to Talavera (about 42 miles in 26 hours). Yet even at this time, his command was not secure; Wellington wrote in December 1809 that 'Advertising to the number of General Officers senior to you in the army, it has not been an easy task to keep you in your command'<sup>(2)</sup> – though such remarks may have been an unavailing attempt to stop Craufurd returning home to his wife for a winter's leave; Wellington noted rather stuffily that he assented to such leave, but did not approve.

As a commander, Craufurd was a general of considerable skill and handled his light troops admirably, his primary concern always directed to their well-being. His ire was especially severe with commissaries who failed to keep the Light Division regularly supplied; the story that he threatened to hang a commissary (also told of Picton) may not be an exaggeration. Edward Costello of the 95th recalled that when Craufurd rejoined the Light Division from home leave just before the Battle of Fuentes de

*The only known likeness of Craufurd, an engraving published in The Wellington Memorial, 1897, without details of engraver or original publisher.*



Onoro the Portuguese *Caçadores* greeted him with cries of 'Long live General Craufurd, who takes care of our bellies!'<sup>(3)</sup>

In other respects, Craufurd's belligerent temperament caused some difficulties. At the Coa, when the Light Division provided that part of Wellington's army in nearest proximity to the French, he delayed falling back so long that his command was put in grave jeopardy (though it might be argued that he was so confident in the quality of his troops that he feared nothing). On another occasion, near Guinaldo, Craufurd did the same thing, and remained on the enemy side of a river almost a whole day after Wellington had ordered him to withdraw. When he did return, Wellington remarked, 'I am glad to see you safe, Craufurd'. 'Oh, I was in no danger, I assure you', he replied. 'But I was, from your conduct', said Wellington<sup>(4)</sup>.

#### 'IF HE FLOGGED TWO, HE SAVED HUNDREDS'

Craufurd's record as a disciplinarian is probably the most famous aspect of his career; and it was indeed fierce, especially in situations like the retreat to Vigo, when only draconian measures could hold regiments together. It was his habit to take the ramrod from any man who fell out without permission, and at the end of a day's march order two dozen lashes for any man without a ramrod. Despite this, 'strange as it may appear, Craufurd maintained a popularity among the men who, on every other occasion, always found him to be their best friend'<sup>(5)</sup>. His wrath was terrible to behold; Harris records him 'looking as stern and angry as a worried bulldog. He did not like retreating at all, that man'. Harris admitted: 'No man but one formed of stuff like General Craufurd could have saved the brigade from perishing altogether; and, if he flogged two, he saved hundreds from death'<sup>(6)</sup>.

But Craufurd was basically a humane man; on the retreat to Vigo he carried a canteen of rum to refresh any man who was faltering; and when Costello mistook him (in his dressing-gown) for his German servant and clapped him on the back, Craufurd only remarked 'Pray, Sir, never again do me the honour to take me for my servant'<sup>(7)</sup>.

Despite the harsh discipline, Harris was among many who worshipped him: 'Many a man in that retreat caught courage from his stern eye and gallant bearing. Indeed, I do not think the world ever saw a more perfect soldier than General Craufurd'<sup>(8)</sup>; 'I do not think I ever admired any man who wore the British uniform more'<sup>(9)</sup>.

With the officers he was much less popular; as Kincaid remarked, 'A very rigid exacting of the duties pointed out in his code of regulations made him very unpopular at its commencement, and it was not until a short time before he was lost to us for ever, that we were capable of appreciating his merits, and fully sensible of the incalculable advantages we derived from the perfection of his system'<sup>(10)</sup>.

Craufurd was 'lost to us for ever' at the storm of Ciudad Rodrigo, 19 January 1812, when he accompanied the storming-parties of his Light Division into the very teeth of the breach. He was directing them from the glacis (his voice was so loud and piercing that it carried even over the din of battle) when he was shot through the lungs, the ball lodging on the spine. He was borne away and died four days later – an irretrievable loss to the army, though the matchless quality of the Light Division was a fitting memorial.

Harris provides a suitable epitaph: 'He seemed a man of iron; nothing daunted him – nothing turned him from his purpose. War was his very element, and toil and danger seemed to call forth only an increasing determination to surmount them... If he stopped his horse, and halted



Placing of decoration on rear of coat worn by brigadier-generals as depicted in rear cover plate. (Bryan Foster)

to deliver one of his stern reprimands, you would see half a dozen lean, unshaven, shoeless and savage Riflemen standing for the moment leaning upon their weapons, and scowling up at his face as he scolded; and when he dashed his spurs into his rearing horse, they would throw up their rifles upon their shoulders, and hobble after him again... (11) MI

#### Notes

- (1) *Recollections of Rifleman Harris* (ed. H. Cuthing), London 1848; 1970 edn. (ed. C. Hibbert), p. 192.
- (2) Craufurd (see source-list) p. 169.
- (3) *Memoirs of Edward Costello*, London 1857; 1967 edn. (ed. A. Breu-James), p. 66.
- (4) Craufurd pp. 184-85.
- (5) Costello pp. 18-19.
- (6) Harris pp. 89-92.
- (7) Costello p. 27.
- (8) Costello p. 47.
- (9) Harris p. 85.
- (10) Harris p. 88.
- (11) *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* (Capt. Sir J. Kincaid), London 1830; McLaren's combined edn. (with *Random Shots from a Rifleman*, orig. London 1835), London n.d., p. 59.
- (12) Harris p. 93.
- (13) See *British Military Uniforms 1768-96* H. Strachan, London 1975 p. 218.
- (14) See *The 25th Regiment of Foot in Minorca*: W.Y. Carmari, *Campaigns magazine* (Los Angeles) issue 5 (1976).

#### Sources

There are several biographical notices of Craufurd, for example in *The Wellington Memorial* (A.J. Griffiths, London 1897); but the most accessible source is the biography by Craufurd's grandson, Rev. A.H. Craufurd: *General Craufurd and his Light Division* (London, n.d.), recently reprinted (Cambridge, 1987). In addition to those mentioned in the footnotes, several 95th Rifles memoirs mention Craufurd.

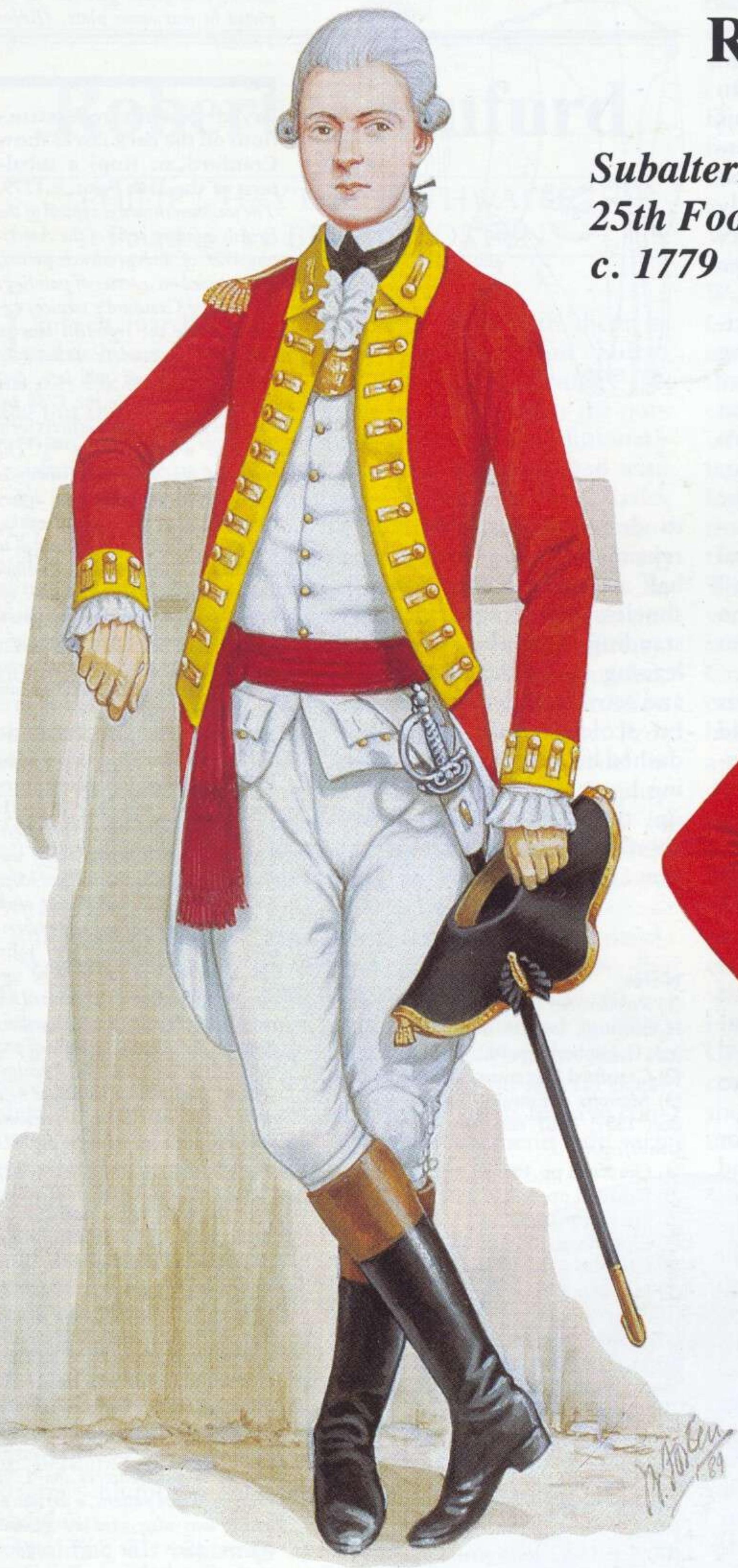
Bryan Foster's reconstructions on the back cover show Craufurd as: (top) a subaltern of the 25th Foot, c.1779. The uniform shown is typical of the British infantry style of the American War of Independence period, and is based on a series of paintings (pre-dating Craufurd's service) excavated while the regiment was in Minorca. The scarlet coat has deep yellow facings and gold lace, described as 'narrow' in the 1708 Inspection Return, when officers were noted as wearing hoods<sup>(12)</sup>. The epaulette was the sign of commissioned rank, there being no differentiation between officer ranks, grenadier officers were permitted to wear two. The Minorca paintings show spontoon carried by some officers; and the use of feldzeichen – a bunch of green leaves in the hat – a Germanic practice perhaps restricted at this time to special parades or anniversaries<sup>(13)</sup>.

(Bottom) Brigadier-General, commanding the Light Brigade, later Division; Portugal and Spain, 1810-11. Craufurd is depicted in the 'dress' version of the General Staff uniform, with gold-embroidered loops on the coat; the 'plain' coat often worn on service lacked this embroidery (see Gallery: Sir John Moore, 'MI' No. II.). The uniform illustrated was prescribed for colonels on the staff, and brigadier-generals, with loops on the cuff and skirt of two over one; for a major-general, which rank Craufurd held at the time of his death, there were four loops on cuff and skirt. In 1811 epaulettes for general officers were replaced by a gold aiguillette on the right shoulder; before that date only on the staff were distinguishable from brigadier-generals only by the button design, the former wearing buttons with a hatched surface, the latter a crossed sword and baton within a wreath. The value shown is that prescribed for general officers in 1803, closely resembling the infantry flank company pattern, which was carried by many officers in preference to the 1796 straight-bladed pattern, a version of which was also used by general officers. (See 'The Staff Uniform of the British Army', N.P. Dawson, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. XXXI, London 1953.)

George Simonds, for example, describes Craufurd's anger when Simonds lost the general's camp equipage (*A British Rifle Man*, ed. W. Verner, London 1899). Craufurd's Standing Orders for the Light Division (originally issued in 1809) were printed in 1814, and republished in the *Journal of Society Napa-leonie* (London 1968).

# Robert Craufurd

*Subaltern,  
25th Foot,  
c. 1779*



*Brigadier-General  
Peninsula, 1810-11*